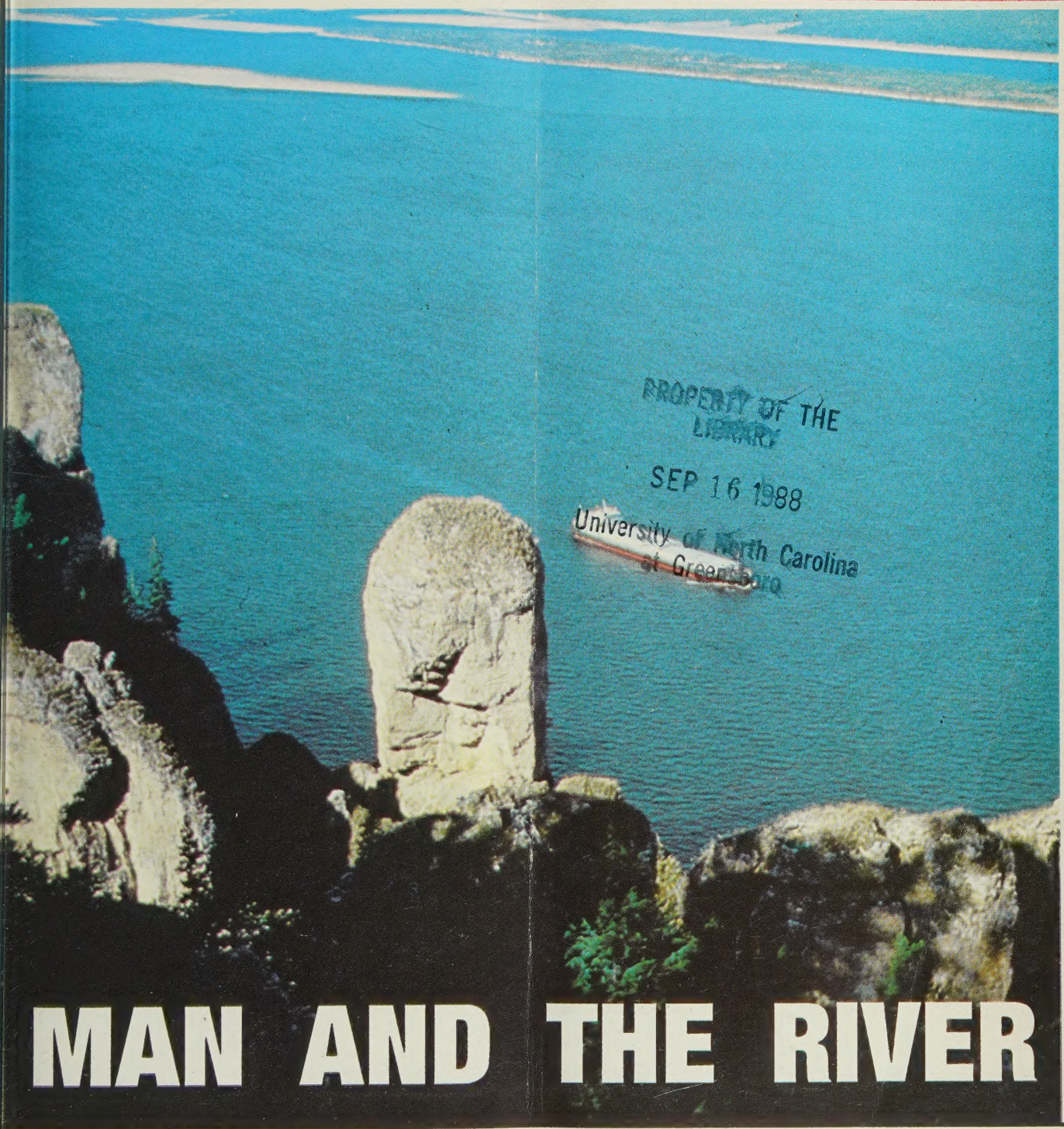
35
August 1988

A SOVIET WEEKLY
OF WORLD AFFAIRS

NEW TIMES

U.S.A.:
conventions over,
election coming



PROPERTY OF THE
LIBRARY
SEP 16 1988
University of North Carolina
at Greensboro

MAN AND THE RIVER

Czechoslovakia: Lessons of August 1968

ELEKTRONIKA

The flash that gives
a perfect picture
even in poor light

The Elektronika
advertising agency
The Golden Ring
advertising agency

NEW TIMES

No. 35, August 1988

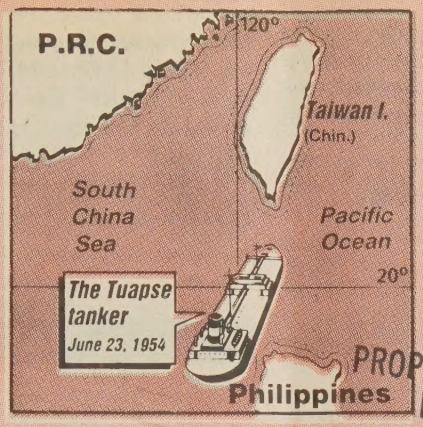
Founded 1943

Editor-in-Chief
VITALY IGNATENKO

Associate editors:
L. ABRAMOV,
L. BEZYMENSKY,
V. CHERNYAVSKY,
V. GANYUSHKIN,
S. GOLYAKOV,
V. KULISTIKOV,
L. MLECHIN,
A. PIN,
D. POGORZHELSKY,
A. PUMPYANSKY,
Y. SHEVCHENKO,
V. STARSHINOV

Designer I. Shein

Editor of English edition:
E. Smirnov



On June 23, 1954 Soviet tanker the Tuapse was stopped by a Taiwan navy ship at 19 degrees 55 minutes N. and 120 degrees 23 minutes E.

That marked the beginning of a 34-year-long Odyssey of three Soviet seamen.

See p. 30

PROPERTY OF THE LIBRARY
SEP 16 1988
University of North Carolina at Greensboro

CONTENTS:

Glasnost

Highlight of the week

Pakistan
Alexander Usvatov
and Sergei Irodov
A TURNING POINT?

Quotations

U.S.A. – election year
Evgeny Andrianov
CANDIDATES FACE TO FACE

11
Observer's view
Rostislav Zolotarev
THE SPIRIT MUST COME BEFORE THE LETTER

12
Disarmament problems
Vladimir Nazarenko
VIENNA: IS THE FINISH IN SIGHT?

14
New thinking
Evgeny Silin
ELEPHANTS, GRASS AND PREJUDICE

15
Exclusive for New Times
A MODEL OF COOPERATION
Interview granted by P.V. Narasimha Rao

18
The world and us
Alexander Ilyin
FACING THE OCEAN

20
World economy
Mikhail Burlakov
TOWARDS A MONETARY REFORM

23
Afghanistan
Gennady Bocharov
BACK FROM THE DARK

25
The 1988 Olympics
Juan Antonio Samaranch
ALL SET FOR THE GAMES

26
U.S.S.R.: perestroika and democracy
Sofia Dubinskaya
DOWN THE YENISEI RIVER

29
Observer's view
Vitaly Ganyushkin
LAW-ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES: A NEW LOOK?

30
Special feature
Irina Lagunina
and Mikhail Khrobostov
THE LONG-AWAITED HOMECOMING

34
Junior world
Simon Soloveichik
CAUTIOUS OPTIMISM

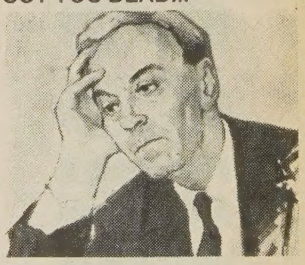
35
Albania
Gennady Sysoyev
WHAT'S NEW?
The past and the present
Milan Matouš
CZECHOSLOVAKIA. AUGUST 1968

38
Romania
Leonid Mlechin
and Sergei Svirin
KING OF THE ROAD

40
New light on the Warsaw uprising
Lev Bezymensky
WHY WINSTON CHURCHILL SAID NO

44
Profile sketches

46
Interviews
Yuri Gherman
WHEN OLD FRIENDS CUT YOU DEAD...



48
Art
Andrei Svetozarov
A MAN WHO AMASSES WEALTH FOR OTHERS

Cover: the Lena River
TASS photo

Our address: Pushkin Square, Moscow, GSP, 103782, U.S.S.R. Telephones: 229-88-72, 209-07-67
Telex: 411164a NEWT SU, 411164b NEWT SU, 411164c NEWT SU ● Telefax: 200-41-92, 200-10-38
Cables: New Times Pushkin Square Moscow
Published in Russian, English, French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Polish, Czech and Greek
Printed by the Moskovskaya Pravda press in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Any material reprinted must be acknowledged

New Times is delivered to you by Aeroflot

OPINIONS

Pat Bishop,
Davenport,
U.S.A.

■ On June 27 we were a host family for two of the peace walk participants from the Soviet Union: Elena Rublyova, a journalist from Moscow, and Vladimir Kuzmin, a teacher from the Moscow Region. They proved to be outstanding goodwill ambassadors to represent your country.

We had friends over to meet Elena and Vladimir. Through their openness with us and ours with them, I think we broke down some of the misconcepts we had about each other. Our governments are of different philosophies but person to person we are no different. We have the same ideas about family, friends, peace. When they left we felt sad because in that short time they felt almost like members of the family.

Some day my wife and I would like to visit your country. After meeting Elena and Vladimir and others from the peace walk we feel that visiting the Soviet Union would be like visiting old friends. We are very much the same. Hands of friendship are extended, may they join in peace, trust and mutual growth.

Valentin Tarkovsky,
pensioner,
Khmelnitsky,
U.S.S.R.

■ I have read the letter from I. Chernobrovin in your issue No. 21, 1988, and here's my comment. Certainly, as it looks back on the thirties and the forties, our press often sins by one-sidedness and ignores the merits our society had then, which were many.

In my opinion, however, the author of the letter overstates his case when discussing the activities of "foreign secret services" and "saboteurs." True enough, gangs of saboteurs were infiltrated into Soviet territory but, as far as I know, not on a mass scale. On the other hand, any coal- or ore-mining accident was regarded as an act of sabotage, with all the ensuing consequences. During the war, I lived in a small German-occupied Ukrainian town for two years but didn't hear of any locals having been recruited before the war. Traitors there were – and, let's face it, many of them defected in revenge for having been victimized in violation of socialist laws.

The lessons of history must be taken seriously and objectively. Rather than painting our past uniformly in black, we ought to try and reconstruct the true picture of it, with all its brighter and darker sides.

Patricio Hales,
National Director,
the Chilean
Architects' College,
Santiago, Chile

■ I'd like to extend my gratitude to all New Times staff for their work. Your weekly is read by all my family and most of my friends, and then I pass it on to those interested in the Soviet Union, socialism and perestroika. As a rule your stories make interesting reading, they are informative and, I believe, truthful. This is why we always look forward to the next issue.

It's amazing that the Pinochet dictatorship's postal service lets this communist printed publication through to us without hindrance. In the atmosphere of violence and persecutions, this is both surprising and gratifying circumstance. Thank you for support and solidarity, which we constantly feel as we read your magazine.

A MATTER AT ISSUE

Seán O'Kelly
Dublin,
Ireland

■ Regarding the abolition of the death penalty, I would urge you to refrain from this move. We discarded that deterrent about twenty years ago, and much to our dismay we have had a fearful rise in murder and rape. As one who campaigned for the abolition of the death penalty, I have to regret the position we took on that issue. Formerly we had a couple of murders a year; now two killings per week does not alarm citizens as we've become so immune to slayings.

Abelardo Mena Chicuri,
Havana,
Cuba

■ I read attentively your article Arbat: Moscow's Montmartre (No. 25, 1988) which demonstrates how perestroika is opening the door to the development of all aesthetic trends without restriction. And now is the decisive opportunity to fight academic rhetoric and standardized means of self-expression.

As you can imagine, for more than ten years we only received the official point of view on Soviet painting. It was imposed by your bureaucracy and ours. But here we know the progressive painters from before and after the October Revolution: Mikhail Larionov, Valentin Serov, Mikhail Vrubel, Vasili Kandinsky, Marc Chagall, Vladimir Tatlin, Natan Altman...

And we are not indifferent to the fate of avant-garde art.

I am a professor of 20th century art in the Institute of Aesthetic Education in Havana. So I wish to know the works of art, events and artistic movements now current in the U.S.S.R. Such as the conceptualism of E. Bulatov and I. Kabakov and the works of the Hermitage Society. I'd appreciate your cooperation in this.

From Montreal

■ You ascribe all your troubles to Stalin who died 35 years ago. May I remind you that toward the end of 1941, after the U.S.S.R. had lost almost all of its arable land, the country still produced enough to feed its people and its army. As the Soviet Army advanced and liberated the nazi-occupied countries, you somehow had enough food to save those countries' population from starvation. What a contrast to the present situation!

GLASNOST

CARRYING ON THE DISCUSSION

Evgeny Oseledko
Riga,
U.S.S.R.

■ Although the problem of environment protection is assuming increasing importance in our country, your magazine does not seem to give it enough attention. What I mean is not so much the problem of ecology in general as the problem of ecological movements and parties.

Today the ecologists constitute an impressive political force in many Western countries. In our country, too, numerous ecological groups, clubs and movements are steadily gaining in influence and strength. In my opinion, our Greens are largely following in the footsteps of their older counterparts abroad. But the trouble is that while one can get a certain amount of information about the formative period of the ecological movement, its present state is covered by our publications most inadequately.

I'd appreciate it if New Times carried, from time to time at least, articles on the current composition of the "green movement," the contradictions within it, and the specific features of individual groupings. Many environmentalists here would like to know what the movement's journals are writing about, and what the objectives and strategy of the Green Peace international organization are. I'm sure that this information would be of interest to general readers as well.

V. Kirillovich
Chairman of the Gorizont Association of Cooperatives,
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

■ I am a regular reader of your magazine. Unfortunately, I cannot get any information on the cooperative movement abroad, although for us Soviet cooperators exchanging experience with partners in socialist countries is very important. We wonder what their working conditions are and where they get their supplies from? Which side does public opinion take? I must say that the members of Gorizont are enthusiastic, fanatical even, eager to put all their strength, energy, ingenuity and imagination to the service of the people. Each has found in the organization what he lacked when working regular hours in an office: creative freedom and the sense of being useful to society.

Our living standards depend not just on material well-being, but on the level of the service industry's development as well. In a big city, with its stressful tenor of life, the recreation indusry is of special importance. Are Moscow's recreation facilities adequate? Hardly.

Another thing. I believe competition between cooperative and state enterprises necessary. It will serve to bring down prices, improve service quality and, in the long run, turn cooperatives into state-run self-supporting companies. Lenin's words to the effect that you can enter communism through the door of a cooperative have lost none of their significance today.

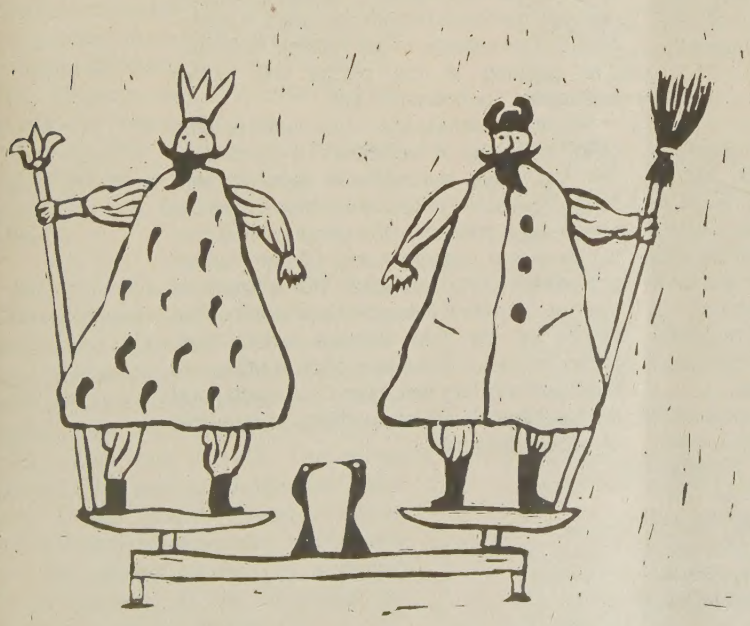
L. Golyas
Deputy Chief,
Production Department,
the Volzhsky Motor Works,
Togliatti, U.S.S.R.

■ The vulgar economist Karl Rodbertus-Jagetzow was certain that "socialist administration" would have no difficulty replacing the accursed market, and outlined the scale of prices in the state under this administration's control. Friedrich Engels made fun of him and asked whether the economist in question could offer any guarantee that each product would be made in the requisite rather than excessive quantities, that people would not be short of bread and meat while suffocating under mountains of sugar beet and drowning in potato alcohol.

The development of any society, socialism included, is an objective phenomenon and is governed by laws that are independent of human will and consciousness. In 1988, however, our planning agency calculated how much steel is to be manufactured in the year 2005. The Ferrous Metallurgy Ministry and the State Planning Committee provide for a further increase in the country's steelmaking potential, although we already produce more steel than the U.S. and Japan combined. (Incidentally, we buy steel from them). The man who forecast our demand for steel in 2005 must be a clairvoyant, to say the least. But I wonder why his opinion should be made law.

We must take another look at the principles underlying the operation of our economic mechanism. The political problems we are faced with are too important for us to go by mere intuition in dealing with them.

AN ARTIST'S COMMENT



Drawing by Alexander Dzhikia

PRIVATE OPINION

HIGHLIGHT OF THE WEEK

ALEKSANDER PERCZYNSKI, deputy press spokesman for the Polish government

The strikes that began at several Polish enterprises in the middle of August are, firstly, detrimental from the social and economic point of view and, secondly, illegal. They are harmful not just because they undermine the economy, which is still operating in extremely difficult conditions, but also because they lead to serious losses. The instigators of the strikes are trying to take advantage of the difficulties and to aggravate them, acting on the tested principle "the worse, the better." The strikes are objectively directed against the policy of reform, public dialogue and national concord, and the process of socialist renewal started by the 9th and continued by the 10th congresses of the Polish United Workers' Party.

I would like to stress once again the illegal character of these strikes. Polish law, the law on trade unions, recognizes the strike as an extreme measure for settling labour disputes. For a strike to be lawful, all other ways of settling a dispute must have been exhausted. In the cases in question the trade unions and managers did not meet to discuss the dispute. The dispute was not referred to a conciliation commission on which both sides were represented. Neither was it examined by public arbiters in the labour court. No secret ballot was held in the work collectives, as required by law, and no consent was received from a higher trade union body. As a result, small groups that are not representative of their collectives paralyzed work at the enterprises.

The instigators and organizers of the strikes care nothing for the worker's vital interests. They want to throw the nation back into the anarchy and destabilization of 1980 and 1981. But such a return is inadmissible.

VASILY ZAKHAROV, U.S.S.R. Minister of Culture

I think our cultural ties with other countries should be promoted through the further democratization of our relations with them. In recent years there have been many shortcomings in this respect. It can be said that our cultural ties have to some extent been "one-sided". As a rule, all major cultural events have been held in Moscow or Leningrad. Other republics and regions have been inadequately involved in this process.

Not long ago we advanced a proposal, backed by the party's Political Bureau, which gives creative unions complete independence in organizing cultural exchanges. Contacts with foreign counterparts will be arranged on a non-currency basis and, as a rule, the expenses met from our own funds. The procedure for coordinating cultural ties has also been envisaged. This question will be tackled by the Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of Culture, and the rights and freedoms of creative unions will not be infringed on.

This year we are planning to send abroad amateur art groups not only from capital but also from provincial cities. Numerous joint commercial performances and exchanges of artists are likewise planned. There will also be non-commercial exchanges, mainly with socialist countries.

YURI SUKHIN, Minister of Automobile Transport of the Russian Federation

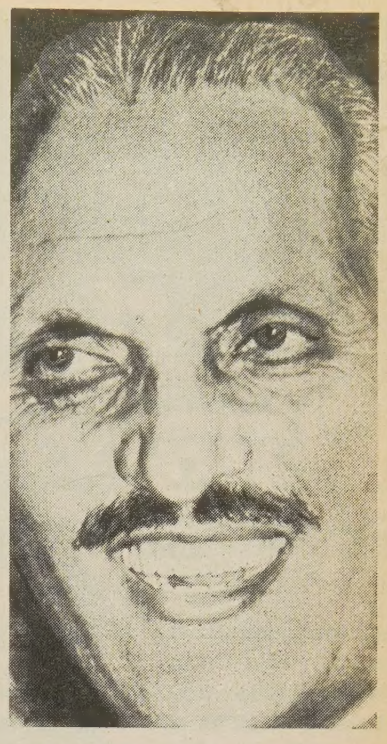
A check point for ties between frontier regions and bilateral automobile communication is to be opened near the village of Sarpi on the Soviet-Turkish border at the end of August. Towards the end of 1990, international automobile communication will have been opened through the same point. A bridge across the Kibas rivulet has connected two states and their peoples.

We have been expecting this event for a long time. The first contacts between Turkey and the Soviet Union in the field of automobile transport were established more than 18 years ago. It is no accident, however, that it is only now, when positive historic changes brought about by new political thinking are taking place in the world, that it has been possible for our neighbour countries – with different political and economic systems and belonging to different blocs – quickly and effectively to conclude an intergovernment agreement on international automobile communication. The agreement expresses the desire of both countries to implement the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act. The opening of the bridge will further strengthen our economic ties.

The bridge across the Kibas rivulet is to be called a "bridge of friendship." It will directly link the Adjar autonomous republic with Artvin Vilayet in Turkey. It will help utilize the advantages offered by the geographical proximity of our countries and Soviet-Turkish goodneighbourly relations. The citizens of the two countries living on both sides of the rivulet will be able, without orders from above, to tackle questions of promoting cultural and sporting ties, human contacts, and frontier trade. It will be, in effect, an example of citizen diplomacy.

A turning point?

The death of General Zia ul-Haq in a plane crash near the small town of Bahawalpur, Pakistan, on August 17 may lead to serious changes in the political situation both in Pakistan and outside it.



Zia ul-Haq

The crash also killed a large group of high-ranking army officers and U.S. ambassador to Pakistan Arnold Raphel. The party was on its way back from the field trials of the U.S. M-1 tanks, of which President Zia had planned to buy a large quantity from the United States.

What caused the President's Hercules C–130 plane to explode? Even before the official inquiry began, the media came up with absurd stories of sabotage by "external forces." Which forces, exactly? The crash is variously alleged to be the work of Afghanistan, India, even the Soviet Union...

At his first press conference, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, taking over as head of state under the Constitution, cooled down the political hotheads. The U.S. and Pakistani investigators, he said, had found no evidence of sabotage, let alone saboteurs. Interior Minister Nasim Ahmad Ahir expressed the view that if it had been an act of sabotage at all, the culprits should be sought inside the country... The President's tough line had not been universally popular even in military quarters, to say nothing of the numerous opposition forces of various descriptions. Besides, only servicemen had access to the President's plane.

A tough-liner at home, the President had been by no means peacefully disposed towards the neighbouring countries.

May I remind readers that Zia ul-Haq came to power in July 1977 after carrying out a coup d'état and overthrowing Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (who was later executed), whereupon Pakistan became a military dictatorship. The military regime was formally ended only in 1985. The civilian government proved short-lived, however. In May 1988 the President dissolved the National Assembly and dismissed the cabinet headed by a civilian Prime Minister. All the provincial assemblies were also dissolved.

The new parliamentary elections, scheduled by the late President for mid-November were to be patterned on the 1985 ones, held in conditions of martial law, with all political parties barred from them, and candidates running as private individuals. Zia ul-Haq justified his decision as follows: an election campaign with political parties involved "would mislead the ordinary people and aggravate ethnic conflicts." He had scheduled the elections deliberately to coincide with the approximate date when

The view from India

The crash of the Pakistani Air Force C-130 plane which killed President Zia ul-Haq has provoked many questions – both technical and, above all, political.

What will Pakistan and its foreign policy be like from now on? Political observers in Delhi are divided on that score while agreeing that the death of Zia ul-Haq, who held undivided sway in the country for 11 years, has closed a complex and largely controversial chapter in the history of Pakistan.

Our correspondent in Delhi asked H. K. Dua, prominent Indian journalist and Editor-in-Chief of the newspaper Hindustan Times, to analyze this chapter in the context of Indo-Pakistani relations.

"That period in our relations," Mr Dua said, "saw brief peaks and, in the main, deep troughs. I recall Zia ul-Haq's visit to India in December 1985 and his negotiations with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi on the signing of a bilateral treaty of friendship, peace and cooperation, as we Indians called it, and referred to by the Pakistani side as a non-aggression pact. There was a glimmer of hope then that the governments of the two countries, which had gone through the armed conflicts of 1965 and 1971, would settle their differences and reach an agreement that would promote the normalization of relations between them and guarantee a lasting peace on the subcontinent. Unfortunately, that hope was not destined to materialize. The Pakistani government declined to commit itself to a peaceful settlement of disputable issues on a bilateral basis (as was always insisted on by India) in the spirit of the Simla Agreement signed by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Indira Gandhi in 1972. Neither did Zia ul-Haq agree to include a provision in the draft treaty on the non-establishment of foreign military bases on the territory of either country, as required by the fundamental principles of the non-aligned movement of which both India and Pakistan are members.

"Moreover, it was at just that time that the Pakistani leadership started giving aid to the Punjabi separatists, which not only blocked the talks for the treaty but considerably worsened our relations."

"Is there reason to expect the outlook for Indo-Pakistani relations to become any brighter after such a dramatic turn of events?"

"I don't think they will improve for as long as Pakistan supports the separatist and terrorist underground in Punjab.

"Pakistan has now entered a period of uncertainty, and there is no predicting which forces will eventually take over the reins of government, or what the new leadership's foreign policy will be. But I am sure that should any opportunities for the improvement of Pakistan's relations with India or other countries present themselves, they will be used."

U.S. Ambassador Arnold Raphel also died in the crash

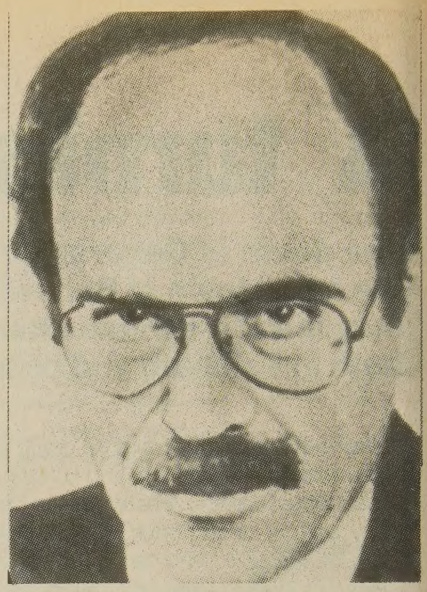


Photo and map from Times (Britain)

Benazir Bhutto, the executed Prime Minister's daughter and leader of the Pakistan People's Party, is to give birth to a child.

These are internal affairs. But what about the country's international position? An observer for the U.S. TV company ABC described it in no uncertain terms: "On the key issues of relations with Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, the United States could not wish for a better ally than General Zia ul-Haq. He firmly supported the rebels in Afghanistan, helping the U.S. give the mujahedeen secret aid worth hundreds of millions of dollars. He did so despite growing opposition in his own country to such close links with the rebels. For this firm stand, the U.S. gave Pakistan military aid running to billions of dollars, forty F-16 fighter planes included. Besides the U.S. has closed its eyes to two problems with Zia ul-Haq: first, Pakistan's steady purchases of materials that could be used to make nuclear weapons; and, second, Zia's ruthlessness as a military dictator."

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that on learning of Zia's death, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz said it was a great loss to the mujahedeens' cause... He expressed no regret at Pakistan's violations of the Geneva accords on a peaceful settlement in Afghanistan.

Moreover, India has repeatedly reported Islamabad's military and financial support for Sikh extremist separatists in the Indian state of Punjab. Zia ul-Haq received the Sikh leaders early in August...

Now all those who want to see a normalization of the situation in the most sensitive region of Asia are asking themselves what role Pakistan will play in international affairs – will it continue to aggravate its relations with its neighbours, or will it at last embark on a more peaceful course?

As soon as word had come of the President's tragic death Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Chairman of the Senate, took over as head of state. He has introduced a state of emergency, but at the same time announced that the Constitution remains in force and that "the democratic process has not been suspended." An extraordinary council, made up of the leading ministers, provincial governors and the chiefs of staff of the three fighting arms, has been formed. It has made the army responsible for maintaining law and order. The acting President has said that parliamentary elections will be held as scheduled in mid-November, with political parties invited to participate. Presidential elections will follow a month later. Benazir Bhutto has said she hopes for democratic changes in the country – after all, the reign of terror is over...

Alexander Usvatov (Moscow)
Sergei Irodov (Delhi)

SUBSCRIPTION FORM

Please enter my subscription to the English edition of NEW TIMES for 1 year (2,3 years). Enclosed you will find ... in cash (cheque, postal order)

Name .....
Address .....
Date .....
Signature .....

Subscriptions may be placed with all bookshops and firms handling Soviet publications as agents for Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga.

QUOTATIONS

D. Konakchiyev,
spokesman for the
Bulgarian Ministry
for Economy and Planning

■ "Today environmental pollution is the greatest obstacle in the way of industrial development. In industrially developed cities iron corrodes 22 times faster and aluminium a hundred times faster than in agricultural areas. The average life of industrial equipment is being reduced by 20-30 per cent. The deterioration of the environment is also having an adverse influence on agriculture and forestry. This is resulting not only in qualitative but also in quantitative changes. It is reflected in economic efficiency, the health of the population and patterns of migration within the country."

Neil Kinnock,
leader of the
British Labour Party

■ "If we actually do see achieved a real liberalization and modernization of the Soviet Union, then a lot of the levers for doing that are in the West. It has got to be in our interests as well as the interests of the Soviet people to do that. The only allies that the conservatives in the Soviet Union have got are the conservatives here. It would be the supreme irony if the conservatives of the West so conducted affairs as to ensure the strengthening and installation of the conservatives in the East."

Nordin Sopee,
director-general
of the Malaysian Institute
of Strategic and International
Research

■ "I believe that we have entered a period in which economics have become the decisive tool of history, when the future of great powers will be determined not by strategies but by the results of economic competition. A time when the future of these countries and of the world will depend on their achievements at home, rather than abroad. The U.S.S.R. has already recognized the need for restructuring. The United States as well has come close to realizing that it too is in need of its own version of perestroika."

"To think that we must wait for another 500,000 years until people finally decide to cut the army by at least a half..."

Cartoon by Vsevolod Arsenyev

Yasser Arafat,
chairman of the PLO
Executive Committee

■ "When I say international legality, I mean the legality of the United Nations resolutions... We accept the resolutions in total – we accept what we like and even what we don't like. When it comes to Resolution 181, which created the state of Israel, we do take that resolution and accept it as a unit. Not only item B – which calls for the creation of a Jewish state – but also item A, which calls for the establishment of a Palestinian state. The Israelis choose to accept only parts of these resolutions."

Phyllis Oakley,
official representative
of the U.S. State Department

■ "NATO's short-range nuclear forces are an important means of implementing the alliance's policy aimed at preventing war by means of a strategy of flexible response and the concept of frontline defence. NATO policy consists in maintaining the minimum level of nuclear forces, including short-range nuclear forces, necessary to ensure deterrence. At their meeting in Brussels in March of this year, the NATO heads of state and government reaffirmed their conviction that NATO's nuclear forces must meet today's demands. And in April of this year the NATO countries' ministers of defence confirmed the decision taken in 1983 on the need to modernize and cut back the European nuclear reserve. Various NATO agencies are now considering the concrete measures necessary to implement the alliance's objectives in this field."

Mario Porta,
head of the General
Staff
of the Italian Armed
Forces

■ "At the present time international relations are characterized by a much more promising atmosphere as regards detente. But that atmosphere, and the intentions of the sides could change at any moment, while military capability remains unchanged... To me it seems natural that in their assessments military experts should bring special foresight to bear where considering the battle-strike potential of the enemy's capability... The aim of modernizing our armed forces is to preserve an adequate level of deterrence and security, to ensure at once the continuation of disarmament talks and the active organization of defence based on the permitted minimum of armaments.

But we should, I think, give our utmost attention to the recent proposals of the Warsaw Treaty countries, remembering in particular that future negotiations should not be confined exclusively to the U.S. and the U.S.S.R."

Candidates face to face

From our own correspondent
Evgeny Andrianov

The aristocratically smart President was, as usual, irresistible, and Nancy charming. The band thundered at full blast. The delegates and guests who had gathered in the Superdome were ecstatic with rapture. The first day of the Republican Convention was drawing to an end, but George Bush still remained behind the scenes.

I shall not judge what the conventions of American parties resemble most: a noisy holiday with bands and parades, delegates chanting in chorus when needed, boldly printed slogans, various buttons, balloons, caps, ribbons, masks and other carnival ornaments, or intense political activity intended to reconcile different tendencies in the party, make concessions, win favour with opponents or win them over, and put together the presidential candidate's election platform from a dozen options.

The carnival, often simply a farce, is watched by hundreds of tele-, cine-, photo- and video-cameras, and the speeches and interviews are recorded on thousands of tapes. All the events taking place in the hall are broadcast immediately.

Real work is carried out behind the scenes, where only a select few are allowed. What takes place in the offices, party headquarters and conference halls guarded by vigilant and polite security agents can be guessed from seemingly casual slips of the tongue at press conferences and briefings.

However, it does not take an insider to understand that George Bush had it hard on the first day of the convention, harder perhaps than his main rival recently.

A compromise in Atlanta...

Let us recall events in the Omni Centre, where the Democratic national convention took place some weeks ago.

On July 21, the fourth day of the convention, the delegates had to choose a presidential candidate. There were two contenders: Massachusetts governor Michael Dukakis and the Rev. Jesse Jackson, a human rights champion and Afro-American leader. The votes were cast by states, and the contender with the necessary majority won the entire electoral college of a state. The procedure does not provide for any compromise. Incidentally, the same procedure is used in the presidential election as such.

Now and then the audience broke into uproar. In some of the states Dukakis came second to his black rival, and in others he had a marginal lead. When California, a state crucial to the candidates' election chances, was to cast its votes, the floor was taken by Jackson's campaign manager Ron Brown, who declared that the black contender had withdrawn his candidacy in the interests of party unity. Ovations, embraces, tears, grief, clenched fists – all this was recorded by TV crews with professional detachment.

As for the victor, he, like Jesse Jackson, had no right to be in the hall at that moment. Michael Dukakis watched the voting on TV from his hotel room. Dressed in a light blue shirt, slacks and running shoes, a typical holiday-making American, he embraced his wife and raised a glass of champaigne.

Michael Dukakis had every reason to celebrate his victory. On that day he had taken a very important step in the struggle for the presidency, which is called a marathon and sometimes a rat race because of its duration and toughness.

The point is that shortly before the Democratic convention, Dukakis – involuntarily or otherwise – provoked a conflict with his most serious rival in the primaries, Jesse Jackson, by failing to inform him of his decision to name conservative Texas Senator Lloyd Bentsen as his running mate.

As a result, the Democratic Party stood to lose almost a third of the votes – mainly those of poor Americans and ethnic groups. These Americans, politically passive in the past, had been united in the Rainbow Coalition and led in to the Democratic fold by Jesse Jackson, an associate and disciple of Martin Luther King.

But in the course of talks mediated by former president Jimmy Carter, the common desire to win the election prevailed over the resentment and personal ambitions, which had to some extent been appeased. Dukakis demonstrated his independence and Jackson his strength, which all political leaders and the Democratic bosses now have to reckon with.

Michael Dukakis' acceptance speech was to be his second important step. It should be said that the speech made a good impression. Dukakis came up to the microphone as a governor and left the rostrum as a presidential candidate. What matters here is not only how the speech was delivered but also what he spoke about.

But let's analyse the promises of the candidates a little later and return to the main figure in the latest events, George Bush.

...And in New Orleans

Working out a scenario for behaviour at the Republican convention, George Bush certainly took account of the experience of his rival, who made a good impression on Americans by effectively resolving his differences with Jesse Jackson. The difficulties which Dukakis had to cope with attracted public attention to the Democratic convention and added to the popularity of the candidate.

This was probably one of the reasons why Bush only named his vice-presidential choice towards the end of the convention. But the Republican contender also had to tackle a number of other problems similar to those that faced his Democrtaic rival. While Dukakis had to retain control of the left wing of the Democratic Party, Bush had to placate his right flank, especially those who call themselves the "new right" and for whom there is no more damning label than "liberal."

The vice-president's relationship with this group of Republicans is not simple.

Evgeny Andrianov has entered upon his duties as our own correspondent in New York. Born in 1950, he graduated from Moscow University's department of journalism in 1974. He worked in the Novosti Press Agency, and from May 1986, in New Times as its staff writer.

Ronald Reagan only chose Bush as his running mate because the latter's relatively moderate stand counterbalanced his own rightist views. Later on, because of his reputation as a faithful supporter of the President's political initiatives, Bush fell into disgrace with the ultras for starting a dialogue with Moscow and especially for concluding the INF treaty.

I recall the December days on the eve of Mikhail Gorbachev's arrival in the United States, when the "new right" held a noisy press conference at which they not only vowed to wreck the ratification of the INF treaty but also showered abuse on the President and his close aides.

Moreover, it was necessary for Bush to become, at last, an independent political figure, to emerge from the shadow of President Reagan.

"Independence day"

On the second day of the Republican convention, which I would call "independence day," George Bush emerged from the President's shadow. After Bush had seen Reagan off to his Californian ranch to which he had flown to give the vice-president a free hand, he immediately announced his decision to name Indiana Senator Dan Quayle as his running mate.

Though Quayle is rather young for a politician, he has a creditable service record. Son of a Midwest press baron and a heir to a multimillion fortune, he was elected to the House of Representatives at 29, and to the Senate at 34.

A tandem of millionaires has developed in the Republican Party. This fact has not passed unnoticed. At a joint press conference held the next day, Bush literally beat off questions from reporters who wanted to know whether his choice was prompted by the "material wealth" of the prospective vice-president. He alleged that, in the event of victory, a young, energetic, practical and independent-minded vice-president would be a good partner for him. In a private conversation with journalists, one of Bush's close supporters said that Quayle was a new figure in U.S. politics, that he could effectively set off the experienced vice-president, and produce a favourable impression in comparison with his Democratic rival, who is well over 60.

I am not going to dispute the view of people from Bush's entourage. But I think that by naming the young and likeable senator as his running mate, George Bush pursued purely tactical aims. It will be recalled that the list of claimants to this post included senator Robert Dole and his wife Elizabeth, who has experience of working in a high government post, Jeane Kirkpatrick, former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, former senator Jack Kemp, and other experienced politicians.

By choosing Quayle, the Republican presidential contender hopes to eliminate the "bottlenecks" in his campaign. On the one hand, he intends to tie firmly to his chariot the right wing of the party to which the young senator belongs. Incidentally, Bush followed the example of Dukakis, who picked a running mate whose conservative views are close to those of right-wing Republicans. On the other hand, Bush believes that Quayle will attract women and young people to the Republican Party. Opinion polls show that these sections of the population are rather cool towards the present vice-president, giving preference to the energetic Democratic contender.

Two platforms

The four days of the Republican Party convention are over. The Superdome, stripped of its decorations, has again become a sports arena. The struggle between the two presidential candidates is entering the final stage.

What do they offer Americans? How are they going to attract voters? What is their challenge to allies and rivals?

Dukakis, backed by Jackson from the left and Bentsen from the right, is focussing on the economy. His platform, set out in nine typewritten pages, was described by the Wall Street Journal as "teflon." It contains only the basic directions of Democratic policy in the event of victory. Such a programme can easily be converted into slogans and catchy stereotypes.

The Democrats' programme takes account of the interests of different sections of the population. The poor are promised more welfare benefits, peace campaigners – cuts in military expenditure, including allocations for the "star wars" project, and the military-industrial complex – the development of new sophisticated types of conventional weapon. The key points of the Democrats' programme are a sound economy and competent leadership. An important way of building a sound economy is reducing the federal budget deficit, primarily at the expense of military expenditure, though the raising of taxes is not ruled out as an emergency measure.

Archibald Gillies, president of the World Policy Institute, pointed out in a talk with this correspondent that Dukakis belongs to the category of American politicians who are aware of the possibility of serious economic upheavals in the country within the next two years and understand the need to prepare for them.

In addition to an election programme, that is intelligible and attractive to many Americans, Dukakis has some practical experience. As governor, he had to tackle almost all the problems other than international that a U.S. president has to deal with.

For his part, George Bush, like Mondale in 1984, has advanced a detailed programme on more than 100 pages. It envisages a continuation of previous policy in modernizing arms and working on

the "star wars" project. Speaking at the convetnion, General Daniel O. Graham, the father of SDI, declared it "the most significant investment we can make in our nation's future security."

"Peace through strength" remains one of the principal slogans of the Republicans and their new leader George Bush. At the same time, they favour a continuation of the dialogue with the Soviet Union on the question of arms reduction.

In economic as well as international affairs Bush also adheres to the old line: the maintenance of taxes at the same level, the provision of new jobs, mainly through arms orders, and the freezing of federal public aid programmes at the existing level. In the opinion of economists, this policy is bound to increase the budget deficit. Serious apprehensions about the freezing of federal health programmes have been voiced even by well-to-do elderly Americans.

At the same time, George Bush can boast of the achievements scored by the present administration: the reduction of taxes, the low rate of inflation, foreign policy successes, especially the conclusion of the INF treaty and progress in the talks on a 50 per cent reduction in strategic offensive weapons.

I shall recall here Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Washington last December. Commenting on an improvised meeting of the Soviet leader and George Bush, who accompanied him, with citizens of the American capital, a local journalist noted that the vice-president would now know whom to thank for a victory next year.

Be that as it may, George Bush has undoubtedly managed to prove that he is the only Republican candidate capable of assuming all the duties of leader of a great power. This was also demonstrated by the voting. Bush took 100 per cent of the possible votes. At the same time, I think, he was unable to introduce anything new to his programme, and this is what is usually expected by voters. His years as vice-president and previous work as a diplomat and administrator seem to have prevented Bush from devising something original.

An encounter battle

What distinguished the convention in Atlanta from the convention in New Orleans was the atmosphere in the hall. No tension was felt in the Superdome, while in the Omni Centre delegates and guests alike keenly followed every speech, and the struggle was conducted both on the rostrum and in the hall. At the Republican convention in New Orleans one saw delegates quietly chatting or reading newspapers if "their" speaker was not on the rostrum. But when "their" man took the floor they expressed their support for him by whistling, shouting and waving placards and slogans. Once the speech was over, they switched off again.

Judging by the course of events in New Orleans, Dukakis was able to some extent to impose his tactic on his rivals and compel them to pay more attention to economic problems. True, towards the end of the convention Republican delegates increasingly capitalized on world issues.

Nevertheless, Republican speakers did not differ very much. They seemed to parry attacks from Democrats, concentrating their attention on the possible rise in taxes proposed by the Democratic Party (though, if necessary, they will certainly raise taxes themselves) as well as on Dukakis' failures, real or imaginary, in the post of governor.

These themes will be developed further in a TV debate between the two candidates. Experience shows that each party has not a few unexpected arguments, facts and even fake documents up its sleeve. In this sense the forecast made by veteran American journalist Walter Cronkite did not surprise anyone. He predicted that a tough clash, a kind of encounter battle, will begin between the two candidates right after the Republican convention. In the opinion of popular TV journalist Dan Rather, Texas, the native state of Bentsen and Bush, and California will be the main battlefields.

Opinion polls show that the two candidates are currently level-pegging.

Nevertheless, the choice of running mates for vice-president was, in my opinion, the central issue in the current election campaign. It vividly reflected current trends in U.S. politics. The pendulum seems to have swung to the centre. But the right is not giving way, and both presidential candidates have made gestures towards them. The American voters have steady habits, preferring tested "conservatives" to "unreliable liberals." That has been so to this day.

Let us see what the voters will say in the coming election.

New Orleans

Drawings from the Times (Britain)

The running mates

Senator Lloyd Bentsen

The Democratic vice-presidential candidate, 67, was born in a big landowning family in Mission, Texas, and graduated from Texas University with the degree of LLB.

During the war Bentsen served as a flier, and won military decorations. In 1945 he was elected county judge and in 1948 a member of the House of Representatives for Texas. In 1955, together with his father, he founded a company, Lincoln Consolidated. In 1970 Bentsen was elected to the Senate for Texas, defeating Republican candidate George Bush. In the past few years he has been chairman of the Senate finance committee.

Lloyd Bentsen favours aid to the contras, lower taxes, the MX missile and B-1 bomber programmes, funds for "star wars" research, and prayers in schools.

He is opposed to banning the sale of guns to citizens on U.S. territory and to federal funding for abortions.

Lloyd Bentsen and his wife Beryl Ann have three children.

His hobbies are lawn tennis and hunting.

Senator Danforth Quayle

The Republican vice-presidential candidate, 41, is the son of a press baron in Indianapolis, Indiana; he graduated from Greencastle University, Indiana, and in 1974 received the degree of LLB from Indiana University.

Between 1969 and 1975 Quayle served in the National Guard, was a member of the staff at the Indiana attorney general's office, was an assistant to the governor of the state, and a staff member of the tax division of Indiana.

For some time he practised law and worked as an assistant publisher at the Huntington Herald News, which is owned by his family.

In 1976 Quayle was elected to the House of Representatives for Indiana, and in 1981 he became a senator. He has been a member of the Senate Budget Committee, the Armed Services Committee, and the Labour and Human Resources Committee.

Dan Quayle favours the "star wars" programme and aid to the contras, and is opposed to the freezing of military expenditure. One of the most active critics of the INF treaty, he finally voted for it.

Dan Quayle and his wife Marilyn have three children.

The spirit must come before the letter

Rostislav Zolotarev

The Soviet Union recently began to implement the INF treaty by destroying the first intermediate-range missiles.

The treaty is a breakthrough in the field of real disarmament. It is especially important for Europe, where so many weapons have been stockpiled and the level of confrontation between the two military-political blocs is very high. The INF treaty is in the spirit of the Helsinki Accords though formally it was drawn up and concluded outside the context of the all-European process. It could indeed be a major contribution to détente on the continent.

It is strange, however, that voices of alarm and confusion were heard in Western Europe on the eve of and even after the conclusion and ratification of the treaty.

Scepticism and pessimism are caused, incidentally, not by the treaty, officially approved – though not without reservations sometimes – by most leaders of the NATO countries and in the documents of the bloc, but by the situation in which the Alliance has found its defence system.

Continuing to adhere to the policy of nuclear deterrence, sceptics believe that the treaty will qualitatively reduce NATO's deterrence potential, as a whole class of its deterrence system is to be scrapped. At the same time, the nuclear threshold will be raised: in the new conditions a state will find it more difficult to use nuclear arms to repel a conventional attack though, it should be said, no one is going to attack NATO countries. The bloc has always based its strategic doctrine on the threat of nuclear retaliation. In the past, it was planned as a limited attack with the use of primarily tactical nuclear weapons and medium- and shorter-range missiles. Now that the intermediate-range missiles are to be abolished, a conflict is likely to escalate immediately to a strategic level.

In the opinion of NATO experts the threat of nuclear retaliation against a conventional attack by the enemy may seem unlikely, and the enemy will feel a great temptation to use conventional arms. This view is shared in NATO by many of those who question the results of détente in the military field at a given moment.

Tackling any problem is likely to create new ones. But in this case we are more preoccupied with old problems that came to the fore after the burning issue of Euromissiles had been solved. The old problems are conventional armaments and the imbalances that have arisen historically in this field for various reasons. But the real problem lies in the unhappy fact of confrontation.

This is understood in the West. However, it is believed there that détente can be achieved mainly by the abolition of imbalances and asymmetries through "compensation" and "modernization" of conventional armaments and those nuclear weapons remaining in Europe after the implementation of the INF treaty, in particular, weapon systems not covered by the treaty. As for political methods, they are assigned secondary importance.

The blinkers of old approaches

A reduction of armaments compensated for by raising their quality does not remove confrontation or increase confidence. The idea of maintaining European peace in this way therefore remains a concept of security through strength.

Hence the "double thinking" and NATO's policy which is reminiscent of its double-track decision on Euromissiles: while holding consultations in the group of 23 with the aim of working out a mandate for talks on military détente in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, the members of the bloc are at the same time following the modernization line reaffirmed at their latest meetings in Brussels, though the two trends are not linked rigidly because of Bonn's objections.

The future talks will probably be very difficult and may drag on for a long time. NATO's measures for "compensation" and "modernization" are certain to provoke retaliatory measures by the other side, and the talks, if they continue, will have to be conducted in a much more complex situation than now. This has already been demonstrated by the European "missile crisis."

To stabilize the military and political situation and remove the fears voiced by the West, it is necessary, I think, to set up at the first stage of talks not simply an international control commission but a European centre for the prevention of conflicts and the reduction of the military threat, an idea recently put forward by the Soviet side. Local inspection commissions could become parts of such a body. While the talks are in progress, it would perhaps be useful to introduce a moratorium not only on military expenditures (because there are still considerable difficulties in comparing them, and they would not be easy to control), but also on the deployment of modernized weapon systems not yet covered by any agreement.

Trust is an almost intangible thing that is very hard to measure, whereas distrust can be measured in a specific number of missiles, tanks, guns, anti-tank systems, aircraft, and so on. The primary aim of the European process is to reduce the level of confrontation and then overcome it completely, if that is impossible to do right away. Talks on "compensation" and "modernization" are merely attempts to bypass the treaty while adhering to the letter. But this may kill its spirit, which originated in the Helsinki agreements.

Vienna: is the finish in sight?

Representatives of the 35 countries that took part in the Helsinki conference will soon meet again in Vienna after a "technical" break.

Consultations between members of the group of 23 (consisting of 7 Warsaw Treaty and 16 NATO states) have been in progress since February 1987 in the context of the Vienna meeting to work out a mandate for future talks on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. Though the group has met more than 50 times in Liechtenstein's Palace, the mandate has not been drawn up in full. What is hindering mutual understanding? Are there any prospects? What positions has the group agreed on?

Major General **Victor Tatarnikov,** *the Soviet delegation's military expert:*

"The parties have agreed on the aims of talks, questions of control and the exchange of information, the preamble and a provision for talks to start in the current year. Provisions on signatories to future agreements and their international character have recently been added. Agreement has also been reached on a wide range of issues relating to the procedure for future talks. The idea of the agreement is to obviate the need to discuss procedural issues and hold a special preparatory meeting for this purpose. In short, at the talks the parties will be able to get down to business immediately.

"Unfortunately, we have not yet been able to achieve full mutual understanding with the NATO countries on several key points of the mandate, particularly on the subject of the talks (what armed forces and arms to reduce) and on the geographical zone of arms and troop cuts."

The heads of the Polish and Bulgarian delegations consider the problems that have arisen in the discussion on these points.

Wlodzimierz Konarski, *head of the Polish delegation:*

"One of the most difficult problems at the talks of the group of 23 is, perhaps, that of dual-purpose weapons capable of carrying nuclear or chemical charges. The socialist countries object to the exclusion of such weapons from future talks, because they are still conventional means of warfare. I think this nut will soon be cracked thanks to the constructive Soviet proposals announced during the stay of West German Foreign Minister Genscher in Moscow."

Luben Petrov, *head of the Bulgarian delegation:*

"The Bulgarian delegation attaches special importance to the geographical zone of arms and troop cuts. This is a matter of vital security interest to such a small country as Bulgaria. An appropriate solution to this problem will to a large extent determine the effectiveness of the talks.

"In the course of the discussion the positions of the 23 countries drew closer on a number of issues. First of all, they agreed that measures for a reduction of armed forces and armaments should be effected in all the participating European countries from the Atlantic to the Urals. We include in this zone both the continental territories of the negotiating states and the islands and archipelagoes in their territorial waters, as well as the corresponding Asian part of the Soviet Union (Transcaucasia) and the Asian part of Turkey.

"The inclusion in the zone concerned of the corresponding Asian parts of the Soviet Union and Turkey is a very difficult question. Our delegation backs as expedient the Soviet proposal to include in the zone of reduction the area west of the Ural River and the Caspian Sea, provided Turkish territory is also covered by the talks.

"It is known that Turkey has the second largest armed forces in NATO, and many allied military bases are stationed there. It is also known that NATO has a great superiority over the Warsaw Treaty states in the south of the continent. For this reason it is very important for our country to have guarantees that Turkey's specific geostrategic position will not be used to bypass the agreement within the zone concerned and try to prove the existence of asymmetry and inequality in the total balance of forces from the Atlantic to the Urals.

"Such guarantees may provide for a restriction of the size of the areas that could be excluded from the zone to prevent the concentration of troops in them. Moreover, an agreement could take into account the armed forces and weapons of negotiating parties stationed on Turkish territory.

"Another aspect of the geographical zone is also very important to us, namely, islands and archipelagoes. As in the case of the eastern boundary of the zone, a number of questions will arise here. It will be necessary to determine whether the islands or archipelagoes concerned are part of Europe. The representatives of the 23 participating states are not a geographical community, and we believe that a political decision should be taken on this question."

What does the other side think about the prospects for starting new talks on conventional arms in Europe this year?

Stephan Ledogar, *head of the U.S. delegation:*

"We attach great importance to the talks on conventional arms and hope that they will begin this year. However, the start of talks depends on the solution of the problems that cropped up in the process of working out a mandate for new talks. These include several tough ones. Not long ago the West made important initiatives in offering new proposals on mandate elements such as the forces and areas to be included in the talks, as well as provisions that would ensure the autonomy of the new forum. We hope that after the brief summer recess the East will be ready to respond to these issues."

What, in your opinion, will be the fate of

the numerous tactical nuclear weapons located in Europe?

"The new talks will focus on conventional imbalances and asymmetries. These are at the centre of Europe's security concerns. Despite encouraging statements from Moscow as to Soviet military intentions, the massive forward deployment of Soviet ground forces capable of launching a surprise attack and initiating large-scale offensive action remains the primary source of instability.

"Accordingly, NATO members believe that priority in future negotiations must be given to the reduction and limitation of those Warsaw bloc military capabilities that are most threatening to security and stability – forces capable of seizing and holding territory, such as tanks and artillery. Our immediate task is to complete a mandate for negotiations on conventional armed forces. That is the route to strengthened stability in Europe."

You are aware that the U.S.S.R. has sent notification of a naval exercise by its Baltic Fleet and invited foreign military observers to attend it. What is your opinion of this unilateral step by the Soviet Union?

"For years Soviet military activities have been shrouded in secrecy. So we are encouraged by indications of greater openness on the part of the Soviet Union in military matters. We and our allies believe that naval forces must be excluded from the mandate for talks on conventional armed forces in Europe. Independent naval activities, of course, do not fall under the Helsinki agreements and are outside the scope of the Madrid mandate. Unilateral actions, such as the Soviet announcement, do not change the scope of these agreements or the U.S. position regarding future work on sea-based cruise missiles. The United States will continue to insist on the inclusion of the activities of ground forces as these represent the greatest threat."

Despite a certain restraint, the evaluation of prospects for future talks by the head of the American delegation is on the whole positive. What do representatives of socialist countries think? How are we to explain the break in the discussion?

Yuri Kashlev, *head of the Soviet delegation:*

"The U.S.S.R., together with France and the Federal Republic of Germany, have come up with the idea (called the Genscher initiative) of speeding up the conclusion of the Vienna meeting. The French and West German Foreign Ministers Dumas and Genscher, who visited Vienna early in July, urged the delegations to conclude the meeting as soon as possible. At the end of the same month, the West German, French and Soviet delegations jointly proposed that work continue throughout August and September without an interval in order to wind up the discussion and the preparation of a final document of the meeting. They also proposed the drawing up by the group of 23 of a mandate for talks, and summing up the results of the Vienna stage of the Helsinki conference in October. As a result of this initiative, the delegations voted that the current round of the Vienna meeting should not be broken off, and that there should only be a brief technical pause till August 29 for consultations in their capitals."

Wlodzimierz Konarski:

"I hope that very soon, perhaps this year, the talks will enter two important channels – talks between 23 countries on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, and talks between 35 countries, which will effectively be a continuation of the Stockholm Conference."

What is the purpose of the 35-nation talks? To what extent do the positions of delegations coincide at the present time?

"The delegations have agreed on the purpose of 35-nation talks. It is, in my view, to elaborate a new package of confidence- and security-building measures. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are prepared to extend the scope of the Stockholm commitments, which now only embrace the activity of land forces, and extend them to cover the independent activity of naval and air forces. This means that the activity of all service arms in Europe will be covered by a new set of political commitments. As a result, military activity on the continent would become more open, to a considerable extent predictable, and hence less threatening.

"The NATO countries seem to agree on such a concept for the talks, but express doubts as to the expediency of discussing the autonomous activities of navies and air forces.

"The position of the Warsaw Treaty states is quite definite: it is impossible to declare readiness to observe the principle of equal security and simultaneously try to exclude the above-mentioned forms of military activity, which are a source of danger and military instability. As you see, the problem exists, but I am not very pessimistic about prospects for solving it."

With 35 states taking part in the Helsinki process, why are the talks on arms and troop cuts in Europe to be conducted by only 23 of them?

"This is explained by the fact that the United States, backed by other NATO countries, resolutely insisted on the exclusion of non-aligned and neutral nations from the talks. After a long and heated debate, the delegations agreed that at the first stage the talks will be held between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO states. The 12 neutral and non-aligned states accepted this interim decision. But thanks to the support and persistence of the socialist countries, they will be informed of the progress of the talks and be able to express their opinions.

"The idea of talks by the group of 23 is to reduce the armed forces and armaments in accordance with the three-phase Soviet concept set forth in the programme of military détente from the Atlantic to the Urals at the latest meeting of the Warsaw Treaty countries' Political Consultative Committee. I think the concept was, on the whole, favourably received in the West.

"I believe that in the course of the next two or three years the East and the West will be able to conclude an agreement on the reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments that will also pave the way for the abolition of tactical nuclear weapons."

The interval is coming to an end. The final stage of the Vienna meeting begins next week.

Vladimir Nazarenko

Vienna

Elephants, grass and prejudice

Evgeny Silin

"We Europeans feel as if we are the grass on which two elephants – the superpowers – are frolicking," I was often told by a friend of mine, a Belgian politician. "Elephants trample the grass when they fight and equally when they make love."

This sad figure of speech aroused a natural desire to contest it, as in many respects it departs company with reality, or is even perhaps wholly unfounded. It makes one want to take issue with the groundless self–abasement of Europeans. Recall that our country itself is part of Europe – and that the troubles of the continent affect us directly. And that, bearing this in mind, the Soviet Union seeks untroubled friendly relations with the "other elephant" not to the detriment of the rest of Europe, but in agreement and peace with it.

All that is true. But no matter how paradoxical it may seem, our deepening dialogue with representatives of different, often very influential political and public forces in the West shows that their point of view and understanding of national interests in one way or another comes close to the parable of elephants on the grass.

Taking this logic further, the conclusion that suggests itself is that the interests of "the whole of Europe" demand the expulsion of both the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. to a special reservation for superpowers. And since in Asia there are forces that seek to prove that the Soviet Union is not an Asian country, one starts thinking in terms of other planets.

At the same time, the United States is situated on the American continent and no one disputes that it belongs to the community of American nations, or, for that matter, their economic, historic, cultural and allied ties with Western Europe.

One can, of course, disagree and in one's heart of hearts even feel resentment at the unjust way in which a part of Western European public opinion sees the present situation on the continent. Yet it remains a fact and cannot be ignored.

Perhaps we have ourselves provided grounds for such sentiments by underestimating the role of Europe in world politics? Did we create situations that have nurtured the parable of the elephants and the grass? Talks between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. on matters directly relating to European security were interrupted. Or on the contrary, bilateral agreements were concluded without the direct participation of Europeans.

Today the new thinking and the new approach to international affairs practised by the U.S.S.R. and its allies are creating entirely new opportunities for unblocking many problems that have weighed on international relations in Europe and the world. Members of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation taking part, for example, in the work of the Foreign Affairs Commissions of the two chambers of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet when the ratification of the INF treaty was being discussed, together with representatives of other public organizations, insisted on the linkage of nuclear disarmament problems with the need for a radical cutback in conventional armaments and armed forces in Europe. It was pointed out that it was hard to get down to implementing the latter issue without clarity as to the real ratio of forces that had to be cut back.

The wishes of Soviet public circles were embodied shortly afterwards in Mikhail Gorbachev's stage–by–stage programme to resolve this problem and the decisions of the recent Warsaw conference. It is to be hoped that the socialist countries' proposals will meet with a response from those in the West who exercise real influence on the decisions taken by their countries and on shaping public opinion.

However, to be honest, one has to admit that the image of an expansive "bear," which, be it in a quarrel or a deal with the "elephant," is ready to trample on flowering European meadows has not been dispelled in the West. Neither Washington nor London, nor other West European capitals are in a hurry to follow Moscow's example of taking a self–critical view of their foreign policies. Yet it is unlikely that they have nothing to reproach themselves with.

I think the most effective way of overcoming existing mistrust and prejudice could be through the further democratization of international relations in Europe on the basis of the Helsinki Final Act and the positive experience accumulated in the 13 years of the Helsinki process. Yet the road we took in Helsinki cannot be said to have been strewn only with roses. And today we have the right to grumble that at the Vienna meeting decisions, which are important to Europe, are being worked out too slowly. But is it realistic to hope that the new thinking, which we ourselves have only begun to grasp, can immediately become a guide to action for all European politicians and diplomats? Time is needed, as well as patience and persistence.

Probably what is required from both official circles and the public in the present circumstances is greater consistency in consolidating the most valuable experience acquired in the Helsinki process – namely: the participation in it of practically all European countries, plus the U.S.A. and Canada, the equality before each of every member – large, medium or small – of military–political blocs, or neutral or non–aligned states, manifesting itself in the consensus principle, the principle of relations between the countries of Europe that have been agreed on and accepted by all. A comprehensive approach to security problems is of great importance, when military and political aspects are closely combined with decisions on cooperation in the fields of the economy, culture, ecology, humanitarian contacts and human rights.

One thing is clear: only civilized relationships can enrich the political consciousness of all participants in the Helsinki process, and bring closer together views and concepts, which, without regular contacts and a desire to understand each other, could seem selfish, and even at times absurd. Any fruitful ideas, if they are presented in a form understandable to the other participants in the Helsinki process, will be quite acceptable. In turn, it would be more correct to correlate reasonable national interests with the interests of general security.

The time has come more persistently and purposefully to seek, through joint efforts and on an equal footing and in trust and partnership, the optimal solutions that would guarantee that Europe survives, and flourishes in the 21st century; solutions that would rid the continent of the nightmare of armed conflict, nuclear and ecological catastrophe, and the cultural alienation of the isolated economies of individual countries or groups of countries from the common tree of European civilization. ■

EXCLUSIVE FOR NEW TIMES

A model of cooperation

The first interview Narasimha Rao gave a foreign journalist after taking the post of India's Minister of External Affairs

Question. During 41 years of independence India has achieved great successes in different spheres, including foreign policy. It is one of the leaders of the NAM, it comes out with major initiatives on international arena, its voice is listened to very attentively by the world public opinion. What is, from your point of view, contributing to that?

Answer. India since its independence has pursued a foreign policy based on certain fundamental principles. Non-alignment, universal disarmament and promotion of world peace have been the basic planks of India's foreign policy. India was highly fortunate in having as its first Prime Minister a visionary like Pandit Nehru who played a leading role in evolving the concept of non-alignment.

India has steadfastly espoused the just struggle of the Palestinian people for the recovery of their inalienable rights. It has similarly extended its full support to the oppressed black majority in South Africa in their valiant fight against apartheid. Indian foreign policy has always been guided by its vision of a world based on peaceful coexistence among all nation states – big and small, rich or poor – on the basis of mutual respect and equality.

If India today enjoys respect in the world arena, it is because of the above features of its foreign policy.

Q. During many years India and the U.S.S.R maintain strong ties of friendship and cooperation. In August 1971 we signed the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation. How could you characterize the present stage of our relations and their future prospects, in particular, in economic and trade fields?

A. We have consistently had warm and friendly relations with the Soviet Union. They have acquired a more dynamic and qualitatively new character in recent years. The frequent exchanges of high-level visits between India and the Soviet Union have given a powerful impetus to these relations. I foresee a steadily rising graph in Indo-Soviet relations in the future.

Economic and trade cooperation is an important component of our relations. In November, 1986, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev had agreed that bilateral trade should increase by 2.5 times by 1992. What I would like to emphasize is that this would entail not only an increase in traditional trade but new and innovative forms of economic cooperation like joint ventures and production cooperation. The concerned agencies on both sides have been working actively towards this end. The changes under way in your country are opening new possibilities for mutually beneficial cooperation. Although we have made satisfactory progress towards achieving the trade turnover target set by the two leaders, persistent and sustained efforts are required to maintain a high tempo of economic relations. I am confident that General Secretary Gorbachev's visit to India later this year will give an important boost to our relations in all fields.

Q. India and the U.S.S.R are the authors of Delhi Declaration on Principles for a Nuclear-Weapon-Free and Non-Violent World, which was signed in 1986. What is your estimation of the progress made during the last two years in putting into practice of the above-mentioned principles?

Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao is one of the most experienced and authoritative members of India's Cabinet led by Prime-Minister Rajiv Gandhi. He was born in Karim Nagar District, Andhra Pradesh, on June 28, 1921. He is a professional barrister. He held leading posts in the ruling party Indian National Congress. He was the General Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee in 1974–1976. Since 1980 Narasimha Rao has been a Central Government Minister, at different periods he was the Minister of External Affairs, Minister of Home Affairs, Defence and Human Resource Development. Presently Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao is the Union Cabinet Minister of External Affairs.

A. The Delhi Declaration of November 27, 1986 identified ten principles for building a nuclear-weapon–free and non–violent world. The exchange of the instruments of ratification of the INF treaty at the Mocow summit is an important first step for putting these principles into practice. The treaty is significant in that for the first time, in the post-war years, there will be an actual reduction in the number of nuclear weapons deployed. An entire category of nuclear weapons will be eliminated. The treaty demonstrates that, given political will, it is possible to achieve nuclear disarmament. The treaty, thus, opens up prospects for undertaking even more far-reaching measures of nuclear disarmament. The progress made so far, though modest, is important as an indication of the tremendous potential of translating into practice the principles contained in the Delhi Declaration.

Q. In July 1988 the Festival of India in the U.S.S.R. was completed. The closure of the Festival of the U.S.S.R. in India is also not very far. As a Chairman of the National Organizing Committee for the Festival of India in the U.S.S.R. and for the Festival of the U.S.S.R. in India will you, please, give your assessment of the results of these events, their role in bringing the two our peoples closer together. How would you comment on the opinion expressed by some in India that it was a waste of money?

A. The Festival of India in the U.S.S.R. and that of the U.S.S.R. in India will for long stand out as an important landmark in the history of friendship of our two peoples. The people–to–people contact established through various events under the festivals have deepened the understanding and sensitivity to each other's culture. Such cultural exchanges should certainly be repeated keeping, however, adequate intervals for the magnitude of planning involved. In the cause of promoting peace and better understanding of mankind no cost can be considered too much.

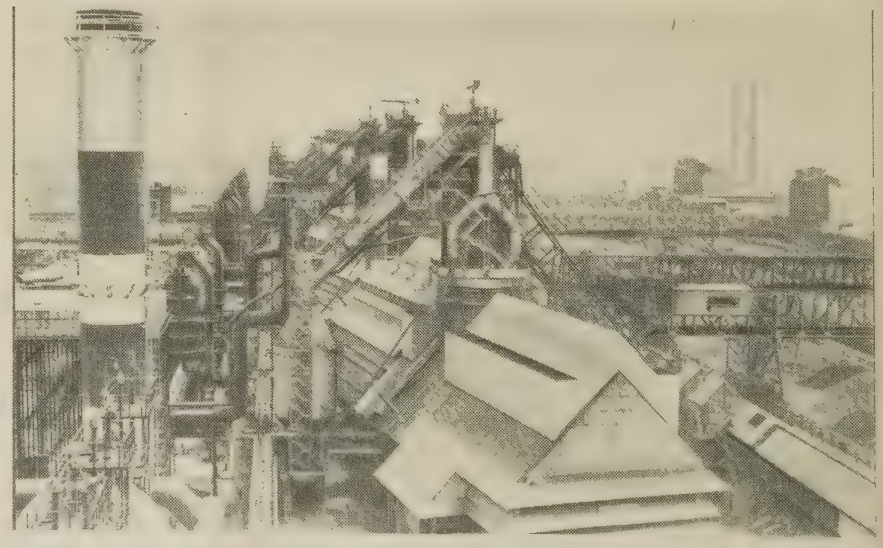
Q. The positions of India and the U.S.S.R. are identical or similar on many important international issues. As a result there is a feeling in certain quarters, especially in the West, about the alleged pro–Soviet trend in India's foreign policy. May I kindly request you to comment on this?

A. India and the Soviet Union have traditionally had very good and friendly relations based on shared values, common perceptions on major international issues and mutual benefit. Both countries are committed to actively promoting peace and disarmament. The most outstanding example of this common outlook is the historic Delhi Declaration on Principles of a Nuclear-Weapon-Free and Non-Violent World signed between General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in November 1986. Our two countries have been active in the fight against colonialism, racialism and apartheid. Relations between our countries are a fine example of how countries with different social and economic systems can constructively cooperate with each other.

India is a founder member of the Non-aligned Movement. It follows an independent foreign policy and decides issues on merit. We seek to establish cooperative and friendly relations with all countries. The Soviet Union has always been appreciative of our policy. Relations with Soviet Union occupy a high priority in our foreign policy. The Soviet Union is a close and trusted friend; we have always thought and said so openly.

Q. During the recent special session of U.N. General Assembly the Prime Minister of India Mr Rajiv Gandhi put forward a major initiative – an Action Plan for nuclear disarmament by the year 2010. What specific move can one expect from India to promote this important initiative?

A. The Action Plan for ushering in a nuclear-weapon–free and non–violent world order presented by India at the SSOD–III embodies, in concrete and operational terms, the principles and perceptions shared between India and the Soviet Union that were enunciated in the Delhi Declaration. At a time when the progressive acceleration of the nuclear arms race has brought the world to the brink of disaster and threatens the very existence of the human race, scholars, scientists, strategic thinkers, peaceful movements all over the world and responsible statesmen are agreed that this situation cannot be allowed to continue. Any opposition to the approach we have adopted in our Action Plan can only derive from the assumption that nuclear weapons should exist indefinitely and a time–bound programme for their elimination should be opposed. We are aware that certain governments have not yet unequivocally accepted the objective of the elimination of nuclear weapons. It is our intention, therefore, to make every effort to carry forward the message contained in the Action Plan in all possible international fora so that it



Industrial enterprises built with Soviet assistance constitute an important part of the Indian economy's public sector. The Bhilai Steel Plant, shown here, is one of them.

TASS photo

becomes a rallying slogan for peace.

Q. At the end of July 1986 Mikhail Gorbachev put forward in his speech in Vladivostok a number of initiatives aimed at ensuring peace, stability and cooperation in the Asia–Pacific region. How would you assess the situation in this region at present? In what direction does it tend to progress?

A. The situation in the Asia–Pacific region remains complex. However, some positive developments, particularly in the direction of resolving regional conflicts have taken place recently. The Geneva accords on Afghanistan have created the conditions for bringing back peace and normalcy in the South–West Asia. There has also been some forward movement on the Kampuchean issue. The recent agreement on establishing a cease–fire in the 8-year-long war between Iran and Iraq is a very welcome and encouraging development. The INF treaty between the Soviet Union and U.S.A. will lead to the elimination of some nuclear weapons in Asia. These are very hopeful signs.

There is need to remove the edge of confrontation, eliminate the nuclear threat and establish equitable and mutually beneficial relations among the countries of this region. In this context, Indo–Soviet relations are an important factor for peace and stability in Asia and the world.

I do not, however, think that final and complete peace and harmony can be brought about overnight. Each of the above issues is complicated and long–standing. Persevering and patient efforts would be needed over time. The important thing is that the trend, at long last, is right.

Q. Twenty years ago the Non–Proliferation Treaty was signed. It should be recalled that India's approach to this problem differs from that of the Soviet Union. Will you, please, explain India's view in this regard?

A. India is not opposed to the principle of non–proliferation. India has, in fact, been far more restrictive on exports of indigenous nuclear materials, equipment and technology than most countries, even before the so–called "London Club" guidelines were adopted. Both India and the U.S.S.R. agree that nuclear proliferation constitutes a common threat to all mankind and that it is necessary to provide an adequate collective response to that threat. In India's view, the present NPT legitimizes the possession of nuclear weapons by a few nations. While the commitment by non–nuclear weapon states party to the treaty is obligatory, that of the nuclear weapon states is on a best–endeavour basis and is not legally enforceable. This, we think, is discriminatory. We believe that the ultimate safeguard against nuclear menace is to get rid of nuclear weapons altogether. It is only within the framework of a time–bound programme of eliminating nuclear weapons that the question of horizontal proliferation can be tackled effectively. If this goal is accepted and the disarmament process is set into motion to achieve it, then the NPT automatically becomes redundant. It has been proposed in our Action Plan that negotiations should commence for a new treaty to replace the NPT whose future will come up for consideration in 1995. This new treaty should give legal effect to the binding commitment by nuclear weapon states to eliminate all nuclear weapons by the year 2010 and of all non–nuclear weapon states not to cross the nuclear weapons threshold. It is only then that the non–proliferation principle would be truly and universally applicable.

Q. India has been consistently pursuing the principal and constructive line in the Afghan problem. She has made a considerable contribution to creating conditions for signing of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan. What is your opinion on the process of implementation of these accords?

A. India fully supports the Geneva accords. If sincerely implemented, these can pave way for peace and stability in the region. While the Soviet troops withdrawal is proceeding smoothly, Afghanistan has complained of violations of the accords by Pakistan. We do hope that all the signatories to the accords will strictly abide by them in letter and spirit.

Q. In his recent interview to New Times the President of the Republic of India Mr R. Venkataraman pointed out that India is extending the hand of friendship to all peoples – East and West, North and South. It is not a secret at the same time that India's relations with its neighbours – Pakistan and China for a long time were shaping up in a very complex way. What can you say about the present stage of India's relations with these countries and their future prospects?

A. It is unfortunately true that our relations with Pakistan are at a low ebb at present, because of Pakistan's involvement in extremist activities directed against India, its pursuit of a clandestine and aggressive nuclear weapon programme and its reluctance to allow expansion of people–to–people contacts. We, however, remain committed to friendship and good neighbourly relations with Pakistan. It is in this context that we have made a number of proposals to Pakistan for giving a greater positive content to relations between the two countries. These include the offer of a Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation, an Agreement on Non–attack on Nuclear Installations, expansion of private trade, setting up of joint ventures, exchange of books, periodicals, films, artistes and academicians and easing of travel restrictions. Unfortunately, Pakistan's response has been far from satisfactory.

India and China have had a relationship which goes back into history. While the relationship between the two countries has been marked by an absence of conflict and the prevalence of peaceful co–existence these received an unfortunate set–back during the late 1950s and early 1960s.

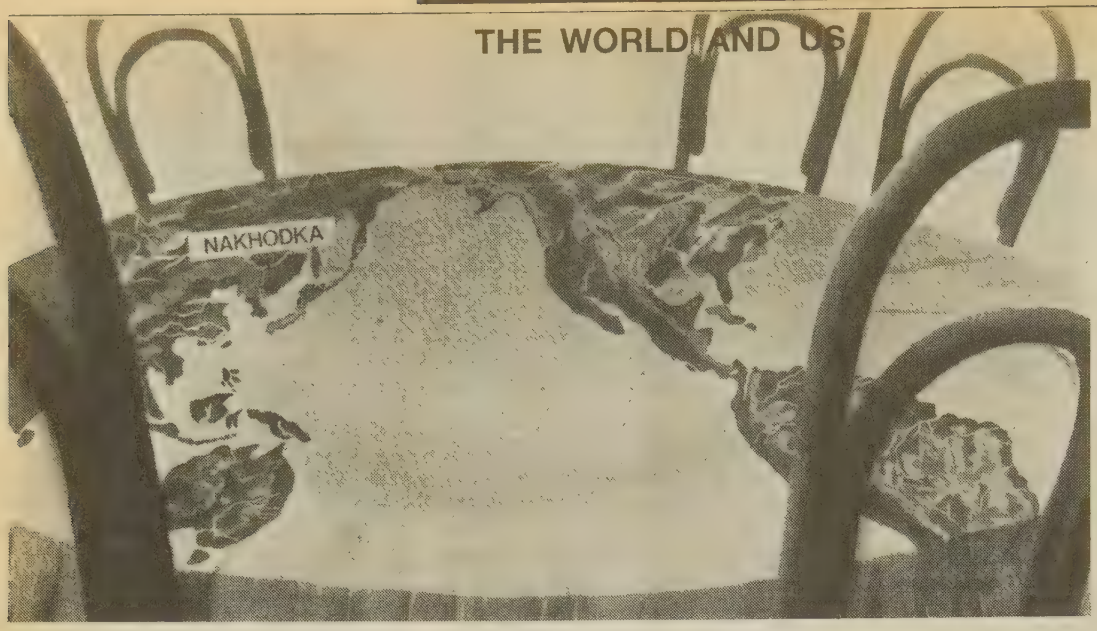
At present, India and China have an ongoing official–level dialogue to discuss issues of mutual concern including the boundary question. India and China have agreed to develop bilateral relations in various fields for mutual benefit while seeking a solution to the boundary question. We wish to resolve our problems with China through peaceful negotiations.

As long as both countries are sincere in developing bilateral relations and continue to work for the settlement of their problems through peaceful negotiations, the prospects of India–China relations being furthered are substantial.

Q. And the last question – of personal matter. You are one of the most experienced and authoritative members of the present Cabinet. What is your personal opinion about the radical changes which are going on in the U.S.S.R., about the policy of restructuring and openness?

A. Truly momentous changes are taking place in the Soviet Union which have aroused great interest throughout the world. In India too we are keenly following the course of perestroika and glasnost and wish the friendly Soviet people every success in their bold endeavour. I have no doubt that while pursuing the new venture, all conceivable contingencies of set-back have been kept in view, because I think this is very important in any change of this depth and magnitude.

Interviewed by
Sergei Irodov,
our own correspondent
DELHI



Facing the ocean

The international conference The Asian-Pacific Region: Dialogue, Peace, Cooperation, sponsored by the Soviet national committee for economic cooperation in the region, is to open in Vladivostok early this October. Is the Eastern door of our home open wide enough? Are we indeed ready for cooperation with the Pacific countries?

"I have so many good friends in New Zealand..." said Australian Wendi Sidney, looking pensively at the emblem of the seminar held in Nakhodka by the U.S.S.R. Committee of Youth Organizations.

The absence of the major island state on the emblem of the Nakhodka seminar showed if nothing else the level of geographical knowledge on the part of our designers. The conspicuous absence of New Zealand could of course be classed as an accidental. However, this is what **Dr William Jackson,** Professor of Political Science at Miami University, said about the role of such "trifles."

"On the positive side I must note that all the delegates at the Nakhodka conference had the opportunity for an open dialogue and a constructive exchange of opinions. Regrettably, the conference was poorly organized and, consequently, we did not make full use of the potential of this dialogue. I think that if I get another invitation to participate in such a meeting I will not consider it worth making the long journey."

Luckily, other participants in the meeting did not take such a radical view, pointing out in particular the importance of such get-togethers in establishing mutual understanding, crushing stereotypes and laying the ground for mutually advantageous bi- and multilateral cooperation in the future.

The ideas that have never materialized

Virginia Brelsford is an international trade adviser to the Governor of Alaska (U.S.A.):

"I believe the main events at such meetings take place not at official functions and sessions, but in the course of informal association.

"One of my principal tasks in Nakhodka was establishing economic contacts, and I am happy to have met people here who are also interested in developing such ties and opening the door to the world for the Soviet Far East. There is greater hope for broader ties with Kamchatka economically and culturally. The idea emerged of holding a space bridge between Kamchatka and Alaska, which should give our people a chance to learn more about each other in this way at least."

In the view of **Dr Bakhtiyar Tuzmukhamedov,** a senior research fellow at the U.S.S.R. Foreign Ministry's Diplomatic Academy, the Nakhodka meeting was in a way an experiment. The previous eight conferences were an example of marathon plenary sessions. With a great mass of people, and speakers reading out reports written in advance, a lively debate as such never took place. This time the schedule was completely different. Only the opening and closing sessions brought all the participants together. On the other days they worked in three commissions – military-poiitical, economic, and one dealing with problems of the youth movement in the Pacific.

"In view of our current policy of openness in military matters," says Bakhtiyar Tuzmukhamedov, "I think it would be reasonable to discuss these problems in greater detail, inviting military experts for that purpose. All the more so as we have experience in the matter. The Soviet Committee of Youth Organizations has been inviting young career officers. The participation of experts with first-hand knowledge of what is meant by military strength would also undoubtedly be beneficial to civilian experts."

Most of the participants agreed that meetings with the participation of Soviet and U.S. military are necessary. It was also noted – quite reasonably – that if we are to speak of equitable cooperation by the countries of the region, such meetings should at least be attended by Chinese and Japanese servicemen.

Why do the military have to wait until retirement to work for peace? Don't they stand a better chance of success while they are invested with real authroity?

Another idea that failed to materialize was the setting up of a business club in the framework of the economic commission. The question is this: if we want to obtain concrete results in the form of certain projects or contracts, would it not be

sensible to expand the number of participants by bringing in business people, who would strike mutually advantageous deals in the course of the seminar itself?

The seminar's political section, too, abounds in promising ideas. We intend to try something like political games. For instance, we are offered a situation: Taiwan acquires nuclear weapons. At that, the Americans play for the U.S.S.R., Soviet participants – for the U.S., the Chinese for Taiwan and so forth. Indeed, it is a wonderful opportunity to sort out each other's positions.

The seminar's youth section carried out a fairly comprehensive analysis of the factors determining the character of the youth movement in the region. **Konstantin Pleshakov** is a research fellow at the Institute of U.S. and Canada Studies at the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences:

"So long as we orient ourselves only to those partners that we have among the young we have no prospects, for our traditional partners are people of extreme left-wing convictions who don't carry much political weight in their countries. Of course, it is nice when meetings with envoys of certain organizations evoke associations in retro style. But in the real world this has an adverse effect. For three days I chaired sessions of the military-political section. Despite the fact that there were a few sharp statements by Americans, the biggest problem was communicating with the left. They still use terms of reference that we have already discarded. And now they completely reject our new approach, and their rejection is dogmatic. We have been depriving ourselves of prospects. The more so as the idea of the seminar presupposes that in 15-20 years participants in the Nakhodka meetings will take up leading or at least fairly high command posts in their countries."

Thinking of Vladivostok

I don't think it an overstatement to say that the Nakhodka meetings reflect military-political, economic and global human problems – both in the region and in the U.S.S.R. In fact, both have acquired particular clarity in view of the initiatives advanced in Mikhail Gorbachev's speech in Vladivostok in 1986.

So far the authority of our country in Asia and the Pacific is determined mostly by our military strength, rather than the economic potential of the Soviet Far East. It is not surprising therefore that in a number of cases we are in no position to back our political actions and initiatives with concrete measures that would in this or other way be related to the economic potential of a given region of the U.S.S.R.

Perestroika has engendered hope in our people. Glasnost is making us more open, well-intentioned and natural in associating with foreigners. That too has not gone unnoticed.

But the participants didn't see greater openness in our Far East, the need for which was mentioned in Vladivostok two years ago.

This is what **Cynthia Roberts** of Columbia University said:

"Nakhodka is a good place, but we are waiting for Vladivostok to be opened. If the meeting had been held there, I think some of the debates would have taken a different course altogether. A visit to Vladivostok and going on board a naval vessel would be a striking display of openness."

"Until Vladivostok is opened," says Konstantin Pleshakov, "all talk about turning to the Pacific and developing ties in the region is bound to be just words."

Let us reflect on what Virginia Brelsford suggested. It is a wonderful idea – cooperation between Alaska and Kamchatka; cultural exchange, tourism, a TV space bridge... Kamchatka is probably the best area to twin with Alaska. But will American tourists be allowed to visit Kamchatka?

We speak of the need to turn to the ocean, and are even making the first attempts to face it; but the most difficult problem – to attract the attention of the other countries in the region and make them face us – has yet to be solved.

Rapid and efficient development of the Far Eastern territories is impossible without international cooperation, setting up joint ventures and attracting foreign investment. That, in turn, is impossible given the degree of restriction that exists today. That is why it is high time we turned from talk about the need for cooperation and greater openness to practical action. Nobody is suggesting just exposing our borders. Definite closed zones are clearly necessary. But aren't unnecessary restrictions a hazard to our own economy?

A long way to Nakhodka

This is another problem related to closeness.

Wendi Sidney represented the Australian Youth Socialist Unity organization:

"I travelled to Nakhodka via Singapore, Delhi, Moscow and Khabarovsk. The trip lasted 50 hours. Naturally, it would be a lot better if we could get here from Australia via Japan right to Vladivostok or Nakhodka."

Xing Shugang is a Professor at the Soviet and East European Studies Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences:

"To come here to Nakhodka we have to go to Moscow first, and then from Moscow all the way out here. It is a long trip – and expensive. If we get some sort of bridge, say, through our northeast to your Maritime Territory or the Amur region, or the Khabarovsk region, everything would be much more convenient and things would of course get much more lively."

They say every person should start perestroika with himself. That is also valid for perestroika in our relations with the Asian-Pacific nations. Indeed, before inviting guests, shouldn't we first put our own house in order?

We all know well about restrictions on entrance to border zones. We know it and comply with it – that is the law. However, it is hard to describe as normal a situation (though some perhaps see it as the acme of order) when a resident of a border zone – say, Vladivostok – cannot go without a summons, assignment or invitation from relatives to Sakhalin: it is also a border zone, but a different one. Or what can foreigners hope for when even Soviet specialists, sent from that same Vladivostok to Japan, have to fly there and back via Moscow...

The Nakhodka seminar brought together architects of a future pan-Asian-Pacific home, but building it requires at least a common unit of measurement. And if the tape used by some of the builders contains 80 centimetres, that of others, 200, and still others, 150 – the desired home is unlikely to be built.

Choosing our own yardstick, we ought to remember that the degree of our objectivity and lack of bias in that will determine the degree of respect and trust on the part of the other participants in the great project of the future.

Alexander Ilyin
our special correspondent

Nakhodka – Moscow

Towards a monetary reform

Professor
Mikhail Burlakov,
D. Sc. (Econ.)

One of the most important principles laid down in the post-Jamaica charter of the International Monetary Fund was the "demonetization" of gold and its exclusion from the world monetary and credit system as the universal currency. But since the IMF monetary system could not do without a generally accepted standard, a substitute for gold was found in the form of Special Drawing Rights (SDRs).

Paper gold

Special Drawing Rights are a collective accounting unit created by the IMF in 1970. They are a credit reserve, distributable among all IMF members in proportion to their share in the capital of the fund. The central, state banks of the IMF members include their quota of SDRs in their currency reserves and use them to cover their payments deficits as well as shortages in foreign currency reserves. Inasmuch as the SDRs have no material backing and exist only as entries in the accounts of IMF members, the press has dubbed them paper gold. Although the SDRs constitute a relatively small part of all international foreign exchange reserves (5.5 per cent or, in money terms, 21.4 billion dollars as of the beginning of 1987), they nevertheless added to the total of these reserves, taking some of the edge off the perpetual shortage of foreign currency experienced by the developing countries.

However, paper gold has not become a full-fledged foreign exchange reserve. In the first place because its use in this capacity is restricted by the IMF itself. Besides which the SDRs cannot perform the role of a currency reserve because they are distributed in proportion to the quotas of the member countries in the capital of the fund. Accordingly, three quarters (73 per cent) of the total sum of SDRs falls to the share of the developed Western countries, while 123 developing countries (83 per cent of the total membership) receive only 25 per cent.

However, notwithstanding the limitaytions of the role of SDRs in international payments, the use of this first collective currency has clearly paved the way to the creation of qualitatively new international money capable of ensuring a comparatively stable currency exchange in one or another region. The Common Market countries have profited most from the use of the collective currency. In 1979 they created the European currency unit, known as the ecu.

At the present time the ecu performs several functions. It is used in setting the exchange rates of the currencies of the countries belonging to the European Monetary System, as well as the interest on loans. The ecu also serves as a payments and accounting unit in financial operations between the central banks of the EEC countries.

Wider use of the ecu is being made also in commercial operations, primarily in crediting foreign trade transactions. Thus, in Italy the share of the ecu in such operations amounted to 23.5 per cent in 1983, which resulted in the decline of the share of the U.S. dollar to 38 per cent. The ecu is playing a growing role in the foreign trade payments also of France, Britain, the F.R.G., Belgium, the Netherlands and other Common Market countries. In recent years countries outside the EEC – Sweden, Canada, India, the U.S., Japan and also China, the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries, as well as many international credit organizations – have evinced a keen interest in drawing on ecu credits.

The growing use of the ecu to be observed in recent years has strengthened the position of West European finance centres, bringing the EEC countries closer together on a number of financial and trade issues. The extensive commercial use of the ecu thus lays the groundwork for protecting Europe to some extent from manipulations with the exchange rate of the dollar and for countering the economic, currency and political pressure exerted by Washington. At the end of 1987, the President of the Commission of the European Communities, Jacques Delors, announced that EEC financial agencies would grant credits and loans mainly in ecus. It is also proposed to substitute ecus for the dollar in the reserves of the Common Market central banks. The question of founding a single Common Market central bank which would conduct all credit operations in ecus is now being considered in Brussels.

Several developing countries, too, are introducing collective currencies. Like the SDRs and the ecus, their regional currencies exist only as entries in special accounts in the central banks of the countries that have set up regional currency unions. The basic purpose of these unions is to cover their mutual payment obligations. For instance, as far back as 1961, the clearing agency of the common market of a number of Central American countries issued the region's first collective currency – the Central American peso. In 1975, two other collective currencies of developing countries appeared – the West African unit of account and the Asian monetary unit. In 1977, the Arab Monetary Fund launched the Arab payments dinar. In 1984, a number of Latin American countries, signatories to the Andean Pact, introduced the Andean peso. Early in 1986 the Arab OPEC countries decided to create a common currency unit in order to avoid the heavy losses caused by the fluctuation of the rate of the dollar in which oil prices are quoted. And in July 1987, the presidents of Argentina and Brazil agreed to institute a common currency unit – the gaucho – for financing mutual trade transactions.

Monetary polycentrism

What accounts for the emergence of collective money? What are its advantages as compared with the dollar?

The introduction of collective money, as well as the increased volume of barter trade, are nothing but attempts to provide against instability of currency, to reduce financial losses resulting from the crisis of the dollar. Both testify to the advantages of collective money as such.

The most developed forms – the SDRs and the ecus – are "currency baskets" in which the exchange rates of national currency units are integrated in conformity with the economic and trade "weight" of the various countries in the world economy and trade. While the statistical and purely quantitative appraisal of the "weight" of the national currencies is purely relative, their "basket" as a whole is more stable than each of its components taken separately.

Continued from our previous issue.

Although the collective currencies owe their origin to economic theory and are hence artificial constructions and not the spontaneous product of commodity-money relations, they nevertheless are more in keeping with the present-day demands of the world economy than the dollar, which no longer ensures the stability of the international monetary order. It is not only a matter of the United States having lost its role of guarantor of that stability. The present monetary system has long since ceased to be monolithic.

Besides the European Monetary System and the currency unions of developing countries, in the past ten years there has emerged a clearly defined, although not yet formalized, zone of the Japanese yen which includes the dynamically developing economies of the Southeast Asian countries. The countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, which possess a substantial economic and financial potential for heightening the role of their collective currency – the transferable ruble – in their international monetary and credit relations, have begun to restructure their currency system. In short, a definite monetary polycentrism is to be observed in the world economy. In a sense it may be said that today there is maturing a tendency similar to that characteristic of the worldwide depression of the 1930s, which led to an acute currency crisis and the formation of rival monetary blocs.

Of course, the world economy today can in no way be compared with what it was 60 years ago. The economic interdependence of all countries of the world is now greater than ever before, and no little experience has been accumulated in interstate regulation of currency and credit relations – both within the framework of the IMF and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and regional economic associations and groups. At the same time, it is plain to see – and the deficiencies of the dollar order have made this abundantly clear – that with the greater economic interdependence, sharp imbalances in currency exchange are fraught with heavy financial and economic losses for the entire world community, the United States included.

Farsighted Western politicians, economists and businessmen fully realize how dangerous monetary perturbations can be for world capitalism. And despite Washington's reluctance to dethrone the dollar, projects for a monetary reform are being worked out not only in Western Europe but in America itself. Curiously enough, notwithstanding the policy of "demonetizing" gold, one of the variants for overhauling the dollar system envisaged is a partial return to the gold standard.

Gold index

American economists and some influential businessmen and politicians began to talk about a return to the gold standard in the early 1980s. At a monetary conference sponsored by the U.S. National Academy of Sciences in 1985, the opinion was voiced that the floating exchange rates should be replaced with the former system of fixed gold parities.

Forging a new EEC currency unit.

West European financiers are even more emphatic on this score. In February this year the French Finance Minister, Edouard Balladur, said that gold must be made an obligatory component of the new monetary system, no matter how that system is created. It is noteworthy that at the June conference of the Seven in Toronto it was decided to use the gold price index as an indicator of the economic situation and the monetary stability in the world economy.

Gold remains the universal medium of the materialization of wealth. And in the performance of this function it has not yet been replaced by any other financial asset. None of the developed countries of the West followed the United States' example when in 1975 it began to sell part of its gold reserves (about 6 per cent of the total). The total gold reserves of the central banks of the developed capitalist and developing countries amount to approximately one billion troy ounces which, with the price of gold at 430-470 dollars an ounce in 1988, amounts to about 450 billion dollars. This means that the gold in the vaults of the central banks equals their foreign exchange reserves. Most of these banks have not only preserved their gold reserves; in recent years many have even increased them despite the sharp fluctuations in the price of gold. They regard preservation of their gold reserves as a dependable means of insuring state financial resources against devaluation and as one of the preconditions for pursuing an independent credit and monetary policy.

Gold has retained its prestige as a reliable financial reserve in the business world as well. This is partly the reason why the increase in gold bullions and coins in the possession of private hoarders and investors in the capitalist countries exceeds by far the growth in state gold reserves. Between 1980 and 1986 the amount of gold in state reserves increased by 128 million ounces, while that in private hands went up by 611 million ounces.

The dollar crisis heightens the importance of gold also as security for international state and private bank credits.

Thus, the "demonetization" of gold undertaken by Washington came into conflict with the objective trends of development of international currency and credit relations. The yellow metal continues to remain one of the most important components of state and private currency reserves and exerts an influence on the international financial situation as well. And there are no serious grounds for assuming that the role of gold will diminish in the foreseeable future.

Multilateral balance

Unlike gold, the collective currencies – the ecu, the transferable ruble and the regional monetary units of developing countries – were, as we have said above, artificial creations. Nevertheless, as experience has shown, they can serve quite well not only as the yardstick in interstate payments but also as a monetary measure for credit and commercial transactions, inasmuch as they are connected with the circulation of goods and capital. No less important is it that their use is regulated by interstate currency and credit agreements and by the interstate monetary institutions created by them.

Consequently, collective currency of one or another kind can, both theoretically and in practical terms, replace the dollar as a generally recognized currency measure and an international monetary reserve. In

other words, it can become a universal means of payment. Collective currency, like paper gold – the SDRs, which constitute a "currency basket" – could include, alongside national currency units, a certain quantity of metallic gold. Does that mean that in carrying out a radical reform of the present monetary system it is necessary merely to restore the old parities, i.e., return to the good old Bretton Woods Agreements, simply replacing the dollar on the throne with collective currency?

The present state of monetary and credit relations shows that such a substitution is not enough. It is essential also to change the international mechanism regulating them, to make it more multilateral and democratic than that of the IMF. Some American monetary experts are coming to the same conclusion. The well-known economist Milton Gilbert, for instance, writes that since the free world is not united in its political and economic goals it is unrealistic to imagine that the IMF could become something of a world central bank with the exclusive right of control over the growth of international reserves. Judging by this statement, turning the IMF into a "world bank" is unrealistic even within the narrow limits of the developed capitalist world. Still more unrealistic is it to assume that the IMF system in its present form could evolve into an international institution capable of ensuring a balance of interests among all the participants in the world economic exchange without exception.

Despite the decision of the 6th special session of the U.N. General Assembly (1974) to carry out an international monetary reform, the IMF, under pressure from a handful of Western countries, continues to oppose any restructuring of currency and credit relations along more democratic lines. The U.S. and its closest allies not only retain their hegemony in the IMF but make even wider use of it in their own interests. Far from solving the global problem of foreign indebtedness, the IMF has aggravated it still more by imposing on the developing debtor countries so-called "adaptation programmes" the main purpose of which was to ensure the payment of the usurious interest charged by the Western banks.

Although at present 150 countries are members of the IMF and it is officially considered a specialized U.N. agency, the domination of a few industrial capitalist countries prevents the fund from ensuring the balance of multilateral interests essential in view of the polycentrism of monetary relations that reflects the new alignment of economic and financial forces in the world today.

Nor does the present monetary mechanism ensure international economic security. The worldwide interdependence of national economies, the emergence of serious global problems which mankind can resolve only by pooling its efforts and resources, also underscores the need to find a carefully weighed balance of financial interests. And for this, new thinking on complex problems of international monetary and credit relations is essential, thinking based on sober appraisal of the realities of the world economy. Unless these realities are taken into account, the most tempting, radical projects for currency reform will turn out to be built on sand.

Principles, old and new

Stability, balance and predictability were the three fundamental principles set forth 44 years ago in the Bretton Woods Agreements. It is precisely these qualities that the IMF system now lacks owing to the gradual loss by the U.S. of the role it once played as guarantor of the soundness of the monetary system. The obvious conclusion to be drawn is that the monetary system under which the dollar predominates over all other currencies must be rebuilt. The way to this restructuring is indicated by the use of collective money which has proved its ability to ensure a relatively stable currency exchange. Gold, which has retained its value as a universal currency reserve, must necessarily be a component and guarantor of the collective currencies.

Apart from the introduction of a new international currency unit in which national currencies have shares proportionate to their weight in world economy and trade and backed by gold in one or another way, the reform of the international currency system should lead to interstate agreements which would introduce a qualitatively new monetary order. Such an order could be guaranteed by an international agency which would have all the positive qualities and experience of the IMF but would reject its undemocratic methods of decision-making. A monetary centre (or bank) of this kind could release new international reserve funds and regulate their distribution on a just basis.

The method of distribution by this agency of currency resources could hardly be identical with the one country, one vote principle observed by the United Nations in adopting political decisions. More practicable in monetary and financial affairs would perhaps be the distribution of reserves and voting power in proportion to the share of various countries in world economy and trade. At the same time, the reform of the monetary system should facilitate the solution of such pressing issues as the development of Third World countries, repayment of their foreign debts, drawing these countries into the scientific and technological revolution, resolving ecological problems, the development of international cooperation in exploration of outer space and the World Ocean, the tapping of new sources of energy, etc.

International financial resources for these purposes could be increased within the next decade through stage-by-stage disarmament. The funds thus released would fully suffice also for the conversion of war production to civilian, and for speeding the development of the economically backward regions of the world.

Such in broad outline could be the contours of a new monetary order. It could replace the bankrupt dollar order provided that in addition to the old principles it is founded on three new ones.

Firstly, it is essential to take into account and balance a multiplicity of interests, to recognize the multipolar complexity of the modern world economy which includes states and entire groups of countries at different levels of economic, social, scientific and technological development. Secondly, decision-making must be democratic, with priority given to universal human values and global problems in the distribution of resources.

And, finally, the new monetary system must be based on the principle of equality and must be obligatory for all involved in the international currency exchange, and the diktat of economically powerful countries or groups of countries must be ruled out.

It goes without saying that transition to such a system will take time. No few obstacles and prejudices will have to be overcome and compromises found. A new monetary order will work only when the deficiencies of the dollar order are eliminated and when the doors to economic cooperation are opened wide to the world economy.

Cartoon from the Financial Times, Britain

Back from the dark

Gennady Bocharov

The military and political situation in Afghanistan remains complex. But what is happening today has its roots in what happened yesterday.

Everything has a history, even when it happens suddenly. At least this is so in theory. But in practice, judging from reports in our press, it is only now that social turmoil and armed struggle have broken out in Afghanistan. For a number of years anyone reporting from Kabul tried to conceal rather than reveal the real scale of the events, many of which are responsible for today's dramas and impasses. And yet the tragedy of the Afghan war – and this was clear a long time ago – lies in the fact that it has involved not only political leaders, parties and groupings of various kinds, but large sections of the people. This did not happen overnight or spontaneously. It was the result of errors, cheating, stupidity and political crimes pure and simple.

We thought the reader would be interested in this small extract from the notebooks of an eminent Soviet journalist Gennady Bocharov, describing a riot in Kabul. Addressing the United Nations, Afghanistan's Foreign Minister would later describe the revolt as a "bloody February blizzard." Soviet newspapers published only some muted reports.

But was it the journalists' fault?

The extract below is taken from Gennady Bocharov's novel "Back from the Dark" which tells of a Soviet journalist who has covered some of the biggest regional wars of past decades. He is referred to as the Interlocutor. Some readers may find the war scenes too realistic. But then this is a story about war, and war means blood and danger and death.

Gennady Bocharov has written many documentary books and film scripts. He is an observer for Literaturnaya Gazeta and winner of the prize of the U.S.S.R. Journalists' Union.

This picture was taken during his last trip to Afghanistan in May 1988.

"There is a letter for you," said the girl at the desk.

"For me?" he laughed, surprised.

The girl took the envelope in her hand and held it up.

"Is that your name?"

"Yes, it is," he replied. "Give it to me."

He went up to the lift, pressed the button, and ripped open the envelope.

"Hullo, old man!"

He locked the door of his room and lay down on the bed to read the letter.

"Hullo, old man!

"I flew to Moscow astride on coffins. There's plenty of news, none of it good. After you left Kabul, we came under missile fire eight times, two came down very close, smashed the windows. As always, we had to pay the bill for new ones. We don't go into your room. It's like a crypt."

He remembered that room.

"Of course, we've read your reports, but we prefer you. Stuart Loory of CNN with whom you were almost kidnapped near the post office also went on the air. I saw the video tape. A lot of Soviet armour, but aside from that – nothing.

"You know about the fighting. Most of the action again in Khost and Kandahar. Sarobi, where we came under shellfire, is also full of smoke. I hope you've seen my report. It was on Panorama.

"Enough small talk. Now I come to the difficult bit. Ruslan was hit: seven centimetres of his liver, the bullet went in under the shoulder blade and out through his lower abdomen. He lost two litres of blood. We got him to Bagram and he was operated on. What can I say? I've seen a lot, but I could never have imagined that this would happen to Ruslan. Neither could you, am I right? But now it's happened. The surgeon who did the operation sounded reassuring: aged 33, strong, didn't drink. But you keep the cap Ruslan gave you during that last meeting in Sarobi. It happened near Bala Hissar. Ruslan had just one platoon. They should have given him another Gold Star, but the lieutenant colonel (remember him?) reported to the on–highs that he didn't have a bulletproof jacket on. Of course, it's a breach of the rules. Ruslan has been moved to the Soviet hospital in Kabul. He got a royal room: a mental ward on one side, and a section where they weld coffins to take the bodies home on the other. His eyes are knowing, he remembered you. His neck is thin, he looks sallow and unhinged. When I came out of his room, there was a haze before my eyes. In the sun-drenched courtyard the scene was like a slaughterhouse. Heads in bandages, bandages blood-soaked. The wounded turn on their benches, some have a hand or leg missing, and some both legs missing. There were tanks on the other side of the duval. Those who could walk gathered on the rooftop. They stood and stared, some swore and some cried. Ruslan can't walk.

"I know I'm spoiling your holiday telling you all this. But no one here in Moscow wants to hear about it. And I must tell it to someone. This way we'll only tell each other things. I'll be in Moscow for another four days."

The grim building of the Kabul Hotel was surrounded at 10 in the evening. Crowds of wailing fanatics were after the blood of the infidels.

The hotel was fired on from a fast-moving jeep. The Interlocutor was in his room, No.117. The telephone cord had been torn from its socket, the ceiling lamp was hanging by a thread, and the doors and walls were riddled with bullets. The U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan, Adolph Dubbs, had been murdered in this room in February 1979. Three terrorists were killed here when an attempt was made to free the ambassador. He had been seized in the street.

Sensing danger, the Interlocutor went up to the third floor to join his colleagues from Pravda, the TASS News Agency and Izvestia. Soviet diplomats, doctors and airmen lived on the same floor. About twelve people in all. They were huddled in the hall around a standard lamp on a high, engraved stand. They were listening to a news flash on Radio Kabul.

A breathless announcer was saying: "Pakistani terrorists have been arrested in the Metropol, Park and Jamil hotels. Dear, noble fellow countrymen," the announcer switched in to top gear.

"That's enough!" someone said to the man who was translating the announcement. "Everything is clear. Look out of the window."

The Park hotel was burning like a hayrick. Two overturned buses were blazing in the centre of the pavement. In the light of the flames grim-looking men

in turbans and women in veils looked like ghosts.

"Allah Akbar! Allah Akbar!" chanted the crowd. "Shuravi marg, marg, marg!" ("Allah is great; death, death, death to Soviets!")

The hotel was encircled by Muslim fanatics. The guards had run away.

We had one grenade for twelve people. Who had known that things would come to such a pass? An atheist can never tell what religious fanatics are going to spring on him. No Christian knows what will happen next in the Muslim world. No believer wants to know any world other than his own.

One grenade for all of us – they couldn't have been more careless.

The Interlocutor knew that fanatics take their time murdering you. He knew that first they piece your forearms with knives, then they cut off your ears, your genitals and your fingers, gouge out your eyes and cut your nostrils. Even when you're dead they go on mutilating and maiming your body, until the very death of the infidel is defiled.

One grenade for all of us!

They heard the screams, breathed in the smoke from the fires and pleaded for death to be quick.

But one grenade is not enough to give instant death to all of them.

The Interlocutor was looking at the faded pattern on the carpet. He was as much afraid of demeaning himself as of the knives of his contemporaries besieging the hotel. He was shaking all over.

Even to be silent was an effort.

Try as he would, he couldn't stop his teeth chattering, as if they were plugged into some invisible infernal vibrator.

Just to think, he smiled ruefully, just to think that he had always dreaded an encounter with Islam. "With Islamic extremists," he recalled the newspaper cliché. And yet it referred only to one of the many human faiths, no more.

No more.

No more.

No more.

All his sinews were tense and aching.

Perhaps all of them experienced the humiliating sense of weakness that night. He did not see them, he was too absorbed in controlling himself.

The Interlocutor went up to the heavy, dusty, dark-blue curtain. He saw the surging crowd surrounding the hotel.

"Allah Akbar! Allah Akbar!"

He had missed his best chance in the Bermuda triangle, when the Boeing caught fire. He had been a hair's breadth from death. He had survived, only to die here, and die such a terrible death!

How absurd.

How unfair.

And yet how logical.

The smell of burning was as thick as wool. The leader took off his jacket. He was pale, but he sounded matter-of-fact. He kept repeating: They won't leave us alone. They'll break through to us. They're coming.

The shooting was indeed getting louder. But who was shooting? There was no communication with the embassy.

At one point – perhaps around midnight – the Interlocutor caught the familiar sounds: umba-umba-umba-umba.

Neither the shooting, nor the roar of the crowd could drown this rhythm: umba-umba-umba-umba. Drums?

We heard the stamping of feet.

This is it, he thought.

But it was friends. Furious stormtroopers, armed to the teeth. They ran along the broad, smoke-filled corridor and a young bow-legged major shouted: riot! riot! riot! Everyone into the armoured cars! Quick!

Ever since he had known that if he had as much as a minute there was still hope.

He was shoved into the third vehicle. He found his left cheek pressed against someone's heavy boot. His right cheek was pressed against the ice-cold triplex. With one eye he could see, the nightlife of Kabul: the crowds in the light of the flames, the earthen duvals, the mosques. The last mosque he saw was Masjid Mohammad Yakub Khan.

Eight years had passed since that night.

He raised the collar of his jacket. Eight years. Depends on how you look at it. May be six hundred and twenty-two years.

Perhaps all those centuries really separated that night in Kabul from this night near Sukhumi, in the U.S.S.R. But having returned from the Muslim year 1358, his feelings were numbed. He was indifferent to everything around him.

Only his sinews ached. For...

Time doesn't flow horizontally like a river; it flows vertically – and upward, fetching up all the filth and the evil and carrying it from age to age. This has always been so, he thought. As long as there is life.

The February revolt of 1980 had been put down several days later. Tens of thousands of rioters mingled with hundreds of Kabul citizens. All this time the Interlocutor had stayed away from his hotel. He had slept "on ambassadorial tables" on the outskirts of the city.

He sat down at his desk. There were rough drafts of articles for the magazines Ogonyok and Smena. Fool that he was, he had hoped to be able to work here. All his life he had had hopes.

But instead of deceiving him, his hopes came true, and he hoped again. The more often his hopes came true, the more trivial they became. But they came true ever more often.

He had realized that he was trapped when it was too late.

He brushed the papers aside. The letter fell to the floor too. "Hullo, old man!" He picked it up. Reread it. Suddenly, he had a strange impulse.

He took a clean sheet. "Dear colleague," he wrote to the editor-in-chief.

"My holiday is coming to an end. Today I have made a decision and I thought it would be better if I let you know about it in advance. But before I do so I want to tell you a short story. I'm sure that none of the staff of whom you are so proud has ever told you anything like it. And I don't think they ever will.

"I want to tell you about a routine 'heroic' report. More precisely, my last

report from Kabul entitled 'Soldiers of the Hillsides.' I wrote it at night on returning from Sarobi at the villa of a friend, the local correspondent for Soviet TV. The room in which I was writing was on the first floor. My friend slept on the second floor: he had a loaded submachine gun on the prayer rug by his bedside and a gun under his pillow: his personal line of defence, so to speak.

"My agenda was as follows. Finish work by six in the morning. Sleep from six to eight. Edit the text and have breakfast from eight to nine. Send dispatch to Moscow at 9.30. Departure from Kabul to Shindand at 10.30 (a special Afghan Air Force flight).

"Two explosions occurred simultaneously. 'Ground to ground?' The next pair of missiles exploded closer-by: the windows rattled and the dogs whined. The shelling, as usual, provoked submachine-gun fire. Shooting was sporadic. They were firing from the duvals close-by and at some distance. I tried to concentrate, but the heavy submachine-gun fire broke even the usual ponderous sentences you like so much and which I and my colleagues have been churning out for years.

"I put down my pen and got up. Light filtered in through the semitransparent curtains. I realized what a good target for the rebels I was. I switched off the light, the best thing I could do for security. But you can't write in the dark. So I switched the light on again. Immediately – perhaps by coincidence – shots rattled right by the villa. I thought: it's odd that they haven't killed me yet. And imagine, I switched the light off again.

"The shooting continued. I grabbed the papers and notebook and made straight for the lavatory. I turned on the light, locked the door and made myself as comfortable as I could. I put the notebook on my lap, a sheet of paper on top of the notebook and continued from mid-sentence. The shooting was as heavy as before. Only now the sound was muffled.

"The lavatory door shook when the RAPs exploded. I didn't mind. I continued to write. In the bright light I was writing fast and easily. Only my back was a little stiff. But at least I was sure nobody had me in his sights. I felt secure. I stacked the finished sheets of paper by my right foot.

"Sometimes I picked a page and reread it. And wrote on. The stack of sheets grew. The shooting had long been over. Suddenly the silence was broken by the cry of the muezzin. He was calling the faithful for the first prayer from behind the wall of the neighbouring villa. This meant it was five o'clock. My job was done. The report was finished. At 9.30 I dictated it to Moscow. At 10.30 I boarded the plane. I don't really know why I am telling you all this. But oddly enough I feel better (he crossed out the word 'now'): I have long wanted to write at least a page of unadulterated truth to you.

"Now for my decision. In a week's time I am ready to fly to Kabul. Don't look for a replacement."

Without rereading the letter, he folded it four times and thrust it into an envelope.

THE 1988 OLYMPICS

All set for the Games

Asked by a New Times reporter how far preparations had gone for the inauguration of the Summer Olympic Games in Seoul, IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch said that all sports grounds and facilities were now ready.

The sports timing service, he said, had notified IOC Headquarters that all instruments for registering records had been thoroughly checked. The IOC President said he hoped that the Soviet Olympic team would as usual produce the majority of records. They were closely following the progress of perestroika in the Soviet Union which, he said, encompassed every area of life, including sport. The development of sport in the U.S.S.R. and the fact that sports facilities were accessible to constantly increasing range of athletes was encouraging. The implementation of cost-accounting principles in the maintenance of various sporting facilities would certainly create better opportunities for a wide range of services in the way of physical culture and health-building for the population. This meant, he added, that with time there would be still more Soviet record-holders, Olympic record holders among them.

This year's Games, he continued, were beginning in very special conditions. The humanization of international relations, he noted, would unquestionably have a beneficial effect on the sportsworld generally and serve further to strengthen ties between athletes of countries with different socio-political systems, as well as inculcating the spirit of healthy and rational competition. It was to be hoped, he stressed, that the winds of change in world politics and the growing international understanding would also make for reduced tension and dialogue between North and South Korea towards peaceful reunification. He said the IOC was receiving encouraging information from Seoul, to the effect that meetings between parliamentarians of the two states could facilitate this process.

In conclusion he said that though it was unlikely that athletes from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea would go to Seoul, if it did happen, even at the eleventh hour, they would provide everything necessary to house them and enable them to take part in the Games. In the final analysis, he noted, everything depended on what the D.P.R.K. decided to do.

Y. Kosinsky

Geneva

Down the Yenisei River

Sofia Dubinskaya

Cost accounting benefits people and river

The cruise aboard the M/S Anton Chekhov was a fortunate one in every way. In the first place, all eighteen days down the Yenisei River from Krasnoyarsk to Dixon went off without a hitch whether the treacherous Kazachinskoye rapids, the perfidious shallows that the current produces in the most unexpected places, or the ice "sludge" – imagine, in August! – in the Yenisei Bay at the approach to Port Dixon. Secondly, all cabins were occupied by fortunate people who had paid a mere 50 kopecks for their tickets. It appeared that all the passengers had acquired winning lottery tickets not, for example, for a washing machine, but for an exciting cruise aboard a sophisticated motorship, one of the best in the country's river fleet. Not everyone is so lucky, you must agree.

"May the Volga's jealous admirers not take offence when I say that in all my life I have never seen a grander river than the Yenisei," Chekhov said in the 19th century. The Yenisei today, which our tourists admired from aboard the handsome liner named after the writer, is still more fantastic. In the space of only a fortnight or so, they visited taiga and tundra, experienced a heat wave along the river's upper reaches and cold in a permafrost zone, walked the pavements of "white stone" Igarka and the former centre of exiles, Turukhansk, and sensed the powerful tempo of the huge logging establishment in the young town of Lesosibirsk. They will have lifelong memories of this unique cruise.

Now about the rivermen who gave them the opportunity. The M/S Anton Chekhov is only one of the liners of the Russian Federation Ministry of the River Fleet. Every year millions of Soviet and foreign tourists board such ships, not all of which, incidentally, are as sophisticated as the Anton Chekhov.

The Soviet river fleet discharges many different functions. It carries cargoes and passengers not only inside the Soviet Union, but also to foreign ports, caters to Soviet and foreign tourists during the navigation season and, moreover, is responsible for ramified port facilities, docks and to some extent shipbuilding as such. The layman does not know how all this dovetails within the country's transport network. Indeed, should any one link go rusty, the corrosion can spread.

Formerly, there was enough of this rustiness, but let me add that even then and especially now, intensive research was and is carried out to evolve effective ways and means of preventing the corrosion.

In recent years cost-accounting has become a household term, if we can put it that way, with the Ministry of the River Fleet. What that means today is the husbanding of every facility and resource and counting every kopeck not only in one's own pocket, but especially in the state budget. That the Ministry's enter-

prises were to switch to a new framework of economic management was first officially announced in November 1985. I must say that the changes are the most outstanding over the past 40 years. The list of planned indices has been greatly curtailed; the notorious ton-kilometre yardstick has been abolished.

If we take the Lena shipping administration, we can note the all-the-year-round cost-accounting arrangement introduced three years ago. Each crew is placed on a cost-accounting basis. Performance depends on the ship's upkeep, the necessary repairs in winter and during the navigation season, wages, free food, fuel, material, etc. Each skipper really sees himself as master of his vessel, not just the shipmaster on paper he was before. Of course, he has more to handle, as he is now responsible for all expenses. Lena rivermen have introduced what they call group cost-accounting with from five to ten ships pooling resources and operating to a common time-table. Ships are deployed, with an eye to plans and time-table, so that profitable and not so profitable jobs are fairly allocated to allow each crew to do a good job and earn good wages. As for profits netted over and above the plan, they are shared out by the council of shipmasters.

Nowadays every ruble is taken into account. Each shipmaster has a chequebook and can write out a cheque to pay for any unplanned operation. Should his ship be laid up at a jetty for longer than the accepted time, and port workers are to blame, they will have to compensate for the loss. Previously that would usually have ended in heated accusations. Now that is a thing of the past as both sides want to do business. It should be noted that the port is also on a cost-accounting basis and doesn't want to lose out.

However, that sort of arrangement operates wherever shipmasters and portmasters are more than just professionally competent. The time has now come for enterprising managers capable of a flexible approach and making skilful use of their independence, to take over, like, for instance, L. Mokrousov, former skipper of the M/S Dunaisky-53. I say former, but that isn't because he was inefficient. During the current season he changed the bridge of his tug for that of a bigger boat. Perhaps we would have been happy for him, had not this put paid to a very interesting though none-too-simple experiment.

The experiment was not planned beforehand. During the previous navigation season, one of the ships at the Tchaikovsky repair yards could not leave, simply because there was no skipper to take it out. Mokrousov offered to take charge, furnishing a very specific plan to show how he was going to move a large number of loaded barges using two tugs. He said this would be by way of an experiment. The executives of the Kama shipping administration initially approved his idea and drafted a new composite plan for the two ships. Meanwhile port staff undertook to organize simultaneous handling while the repairmen quickly completed the job of outfitting the two barges needed to make up the complement.

Thus Mokrousov came to skipper a double crew, each of which, moreover, had fewer men than usual. The very first voyages proved the experiment a success. It appeared that it was more convenient to control and supervise the barges, in this way less time was spent on manoeuvres and the watches aboard both ships collaborated superbly. But when the economists compared the results with those obtained by other single ships, they discovered a drop in some of the indices. But that was only the beginning.

For this season new masters were apointed to both tugs, while Mokrousov was promoted. However, the very spirit of the experiment he initiated is already gradually beginning to die.

When the experiment was suspended, nobody thought of deliberately introducing problems. It is much easier to represent unplanned holdups, due, for instance, to a skipper being ill, as an objective reason, than to engage in experiment.

It is rightly said that someone who wants to do something looks for the opportunity to do it, while someone who doesn't want to do anything looks for a reason not to. No new initiative is certain to be profitable to start with. However, it is no longer possible to operate under the old system. Whereas before it was hoped that the authorities higher up would help by amending the plan or providing more money, now that cannot be anticipated. We have to patch the holes in our pockets ourselves.

It might be thought that the suspended experiment on the Kama is an isolated case. After all, what do a couple of ships, which don't even belong to the biggest shipping administration, mean in the context of the entire river fleet? It is a matter of principle. As they say in the East, one does not have to drink up the sea to realise that it is salty, when just one drop is enough. These "drops" are precisely those suspended experiments, those stuck-in-a-rut procedures that do not make for progress. There are still many cases of passengers complaining that there are not enough places on the more popular routes, that time-tables are not compiled everywhere with an eye to their interests, and that often the standard of service is low. However, the wind of change from perestroika is not bypassing a single major port or the most far-flung landing stage.

Take river excursions. In most cases the arrangement is the old one, whereby the Travel Bureau provides the tickets and the rivermen provide the service. Oddly enough, this seemingly well-tried system keeps running into snags.

Last year the Ob-Irtysh Shippjng Administration acquired a new motorship in the "Poet" series. For the second year running its three sister ships, the Alexander Blok, the Valery Bryusov and the Sergei Yesenin all built in Austria, are servicing foreign tourists for the Moscow Shipping Administration and netting a profit. However, the Mikhail Svetlov, which conveys tourists along the Ob and the Irtysh, did so at a loss to its shipping administration last year. So did the Demyan Bedny of the Lena Shipping Administration, which last year wound up half a million rubles in the red. About one in three places aboard these sophisticated ships remained empty.

In the old days the situation would have appeared hopeless. Now, however, a way out has been found, and it is not the only one. Following in the footsteps of the Moscow Shipping Administration, the Lena Administration contracted with American and West German tourists for three and one cruises respectively. The first such cruise ended last month, with 46 American tourists spending ten days on a Siberian river of which previously had been no more than a name to them. Those ten days changed a lot for them; before they had thought Siberia a rough land for exiled dissidents as it had been "in the days of the tsar." They had also not infrequently associated it with what they believed to be the benighted state of its indigenous Yakuts. Now they had the chance to meet Siberians and not just the rivermen on board and ashore. In Yakutsk, the autonomous republic's industrial and cultural centre, and in small communities along the banks, they saw people who were not at all like the indigenous tribes, indeed, rather like themselves. They also saw what a full and exciting life settlers were now leading in what had once been a wild and savage place.

No wonder that when they finally disembarked in Yakutsk they raved about their changed ideas. Lars Lindblad, president of a travel firm, noted that they had pioneered a new international route and said it had been a good beginning. In cooperation with Intourist, his firm is planning another new route from Murmansk to Alaska across the Arctic Ocean.

A Sovetskaya Yakutiya reporter asked him: "When and how did you first conceive of so unusual a cruise for Americans?" He said he believed the idea had

come from what Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev said in Murmansk about the possibilities for cruising along the Northern Sea Route. He immediately telexed Gorbachev and got an answer at once telling him that the Murmansk-Alaska route was quite feasible.

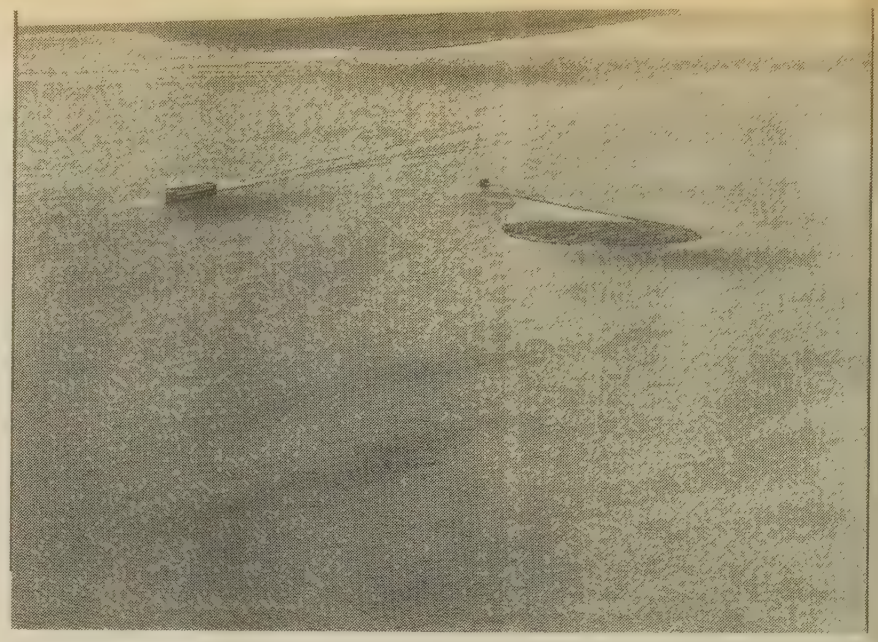
With this reply in hand Lindblad contacted Alexander Zakharov, his colleague at the State Committee for Foreign Travel, while staff at the Lena Shipping Administration undertook to organize the cruise. Now not only individual foreign tourists but travel firms desiring to arrange such cruises can apply through the State Committee for Foreign Travel. It will not mean much trouble for them.

Which is nice to know. But let us not delude ourselves. While it is true that the Demyan Bedny is a sophisticated ship, the foreign tourist wants not only creature comforts, but also a high standard of service, which for us so far has often proved a stumbling block. However well-intentioned and smiling a crew you may have, it does not compensate for the lack of dozens of little things that the foreign tourist is accustomed to seeing and getting elsewhere. Which means that Soviet rivermen have yet to build up a proper service. It is more or less all right on rivers in the European U.S.S.R.: however, on the Siberian rivers much is still to be desired.

In this connection I cannot help recalling a recent sad example of poor service. True, it was aboard a seagoing vessel, where tourist services would seem better. Do you know what was the original cause of the tragedy that overtook the Soviet M/S Priamuriye, which caught fire off the Japanese port of Osaka? The commission of inquiry said passengers using electric heaters had been to blame. It appeared that the ship lacked elementary items, which was why passengers needed electric kettles. In fact an old ship, which should have been scrapped, was sent off on a costly foreign cruise. Fortunately, it was an exception.

But back to our rivers and our tours.

Most places aboard Siberian motorships are for Soviet tourists. The Ob-Irtysh Shipping Administration has now



sponsored Tyumen's recently organized Cruise Co-op, whose members believe that a motorship, which cost the state some 15 million convertible rubles and cruises along such exciting routes as the Tura, the Tobol, the Irtysh, the Ob and the Tom could not operate at a loss. They rolled up their sleeves, pledging to fill all places on board for every cruise and use the ship out of season as a five-star hotel in Tyumen. Small wonder, as these are competent people, some of whom are rivermen themselves.

This initiative was backed by the Tyumen City Executive Committee. Ads were placed in many cities and hundreds of reservations made, with many organizations planning to buy up short river excursions. However, the cooperative was not able to hire the M/S Mikhail Svetlov as the Ministry of the River Fleet did not approve. It was not a complete ban though. The Minister asked Gennady Vasiliev, chief of the Central Office of Passenger Transport, to go out to Tyumen. After scrupulously analyzing the situation and sizing up all pros and cons, he agreed to approve an option which seems the best so far, to allot 60 or a third of places to the co-op and the rest under contract to big offices, which promised to guarantee a full passenger complement.

The Mikhail Svetlov arrangement is a compromise. However, it is merely a trial run, a feature of today, not of yesterday, when the financial standing of an entire shipping administration depended directly on the efficiency of the Regional Council for Travel. Now the monopoly has been broken and the Council for Travel is faced with a serious competitor. Who the prospective tourist favours will largely depend on the standard of service, the organization, the information and quality of advertising of Siberian river travel.

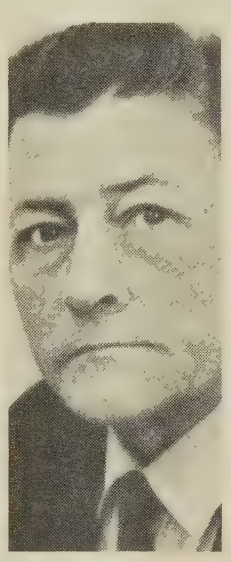
And, of course, on how much the passenger likes it on board. Because even the best creature comforts are only really appreciated when you have a smiling, courteous crew and tasty meals. Then everybody stands to gain.

Take any of the individual instances described. They all reveal the basic signs of the times, the changed attitude to the job. Today many examples can be cited like those of the Lena shipmasters with their collective arrangement, the Kama skipper Mokrousov, the Cruise Co-op and Ob-Irtysh Shipping Administration.

Perestroika is not a cake walk. Rather it is a steep ascent. At a recent session of the ministerial collegium Leonid Bagrov, Minister of the River Fleet, cited this view, which was expressed at the 27th party Congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums. He stressed that we are still all taking our very first steps along the path of perestroika. ■

Law-enforcement agencies: a new look?

Vitaly Ganyushkin



Use authority with reason!

Now we all have the right to march freely and demonstrate not only in orderly ranks on the occasion of great revolutionary holidays but also in irregular arrays on any weekday as you see fit. All you have to do is register the forthcoming event and certify the legality of its objective. This new protective function has been defined for us, the population, in a decree recently adopted by the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet Presidium on the rules for organizing and holding meetings, rallies and demonstrations.

The new decree – an act of great importance – is tangilbe evidence of democratization and glasnost. And this right is already being exercised by our fellow countrymen here and there. Demonstrations and meetings concerning the nomination of candidates to various elective bodies or for the protection of the environment, against unjust or rash decisions by the local authorities or denouncing the actions of those who are opposed to the relaxation of tension or disarmament on the international arena – all this is an inalienable part of our way of life as a norm of civic behaviour. Increasingly often such meetings are becoming a place for constructive dialogue between decision-making officials and the citizens, and this helps produce balanced decisions. As a rule, in the event the militia rise to the occasion, ensuring normal conditions for such as yet unusual expressions of the popular will. And so it should be.

The trouble is, however, that the streets and squares are also coveted today by those who by no means expect official endorsement for their actions, since their intentions are a far cry from our noble aspirations. And here one cannot but be concerned by the fact that here and there criminal passions seek and at times find an outlet when their vehicles – extremists and common ruffians – try to proclaim their intentions by the strength of muscles and anything that comes to hand in the violent assertion of their case.

And here a direct association comes to mind: "my militia protects me." By the militia we may in this case mean all or any agencies that safeguard law and order, the agencies we maintain on the money earned by the sweat of our brows so that they can stop any wrongdoing, ensure the observance of the law and our peace. So that they can ensure the above in qualitatively new conditions where everyone freely expresses his or her will and not every will is good will, to say nothing of the commonweal. How do they square with this new situation in our society?

"...the actions of the militia will be also properly assessed. The degree of their competence in the event will be established by the prosecutor's body," said Alexander Vlasov, Minister of Internal Affairs of the U.S.S.R., in his interview in connection with the recent terrible incident in Alapayevsk (Sverdlovsk Region). Here is a recapitulation of the story. A crowd of youths who had had too much to drink provoked a fight with the militia and, as a result, there were injuries on both sides and one of the participants was fatally wounded.

Now, it is too early to discuss the degree of fault on either side. As for the incident itself, it gives rise to less than cheerful thoughts, the more so as this is not the first incident of its kind. Suffice it to recall the riots in Alma Ata and, alas, in Sumgait. The Kazan battles have been going on as have other minor incidents. All these are cases where the forces of law and order have had to act in an emergency and come into direct contact with the instincts of the mob.

What is disturbing is that even going by the scant information about such incidents in the press, the picture that transpires is that the relevant agencies act slowly and inefficiently, to say the least. Or to be more candid, they act amateurishly. I do not mean to offend, but say this in the hope that we shall all learn from past lessons. For that matter, the agencies that protect law and order are, like the rest of us, "changing their spots" and getting used to performing their difficult job in conditions of democracy, which has inevitablay a seamy side to it in the form of anti-social elements. These bodies will need much worldly wisdom, restraint and, most importantly, a good knowledge of the law to be able to tell healthy expressions of public opinion from social abnormality and act accordingly for the benefit of perestroika and democratization! Are they ready for it? Are they preparing themselves? How?

The questions everyone of us may now ask are apt if we recall, say, the Ovechkins affair, the attempt to hijack a plane with resultant fatalities. Besides this crime, the Procurator's Office of the U.S.S.R. has still to qualify some actions of the so-called seizure group, and some law-enforcement officials who were responsible for neutralizing the gang. To all intents and purposes, they failed to execute the task, acted crudely, and bungled badly.

I am not in a position to judge whether this is a fault or a misfortune of our law-enforcement agencies, but unflattering views of their helplessness in the face of the ever growing new forms of expression of public sentiment are fairly widespread. On the one hand, there are complaints about the use of force, frequently misdirected, on the other, about meekness in the use of force when it is badly needed.

Meanwhile, as our law-enforcers lack experience to deal with mass and group violations of order and anti-social behaviour, it would be nothing to be ashamed of, I think, to turn to the arsenal of methods used by the law-enforcement bodies in other civilized countries, where they have facilities both for maintaining democracy and keeping the votaries of its use for anti-social purposes on a short leash. Moreover, abroad they have a law that protects citizens and society from the consequences of riots, in this country, however, we have no such laws.

There is joke from the past about attempts, with the help of instruction, to square the actions of the law-enforcement agencies with the law. Soon after the initial exposure of the personality cult and the repressions, they were called on to apply more humane methods in their work. And once, when a recidivist thug was brought into the investigator's office, the latter stood up and poked him in the ribs and purred slyly: "Hi, big bum, let's have a sweet little talkie, shall we?"

It's about time we stopped going to extremes and found the golden mean.

SPECIAL FEATURE

The long-awaited homecoming

The Soviet sailors V. Sablin, B. Pisanov and V. Kniga, released by the Taiwan authorities, have arrived in Moscow. They were members of the crew of the Soviet tanker Tuapse which, passing close to the territorial waters of Taiwan, was attacked and captured by the Guomindang in 1954.

They met us journalists at the airport with an unexpected question: "Where have you been all these years while we were in captivity?" And we had no answer, because since 1971 no one had thought of them. Who are these three Soviet sailors? And why have they been unable to return to their country for thirty-four years? Today we talked in a room for three at Moscow's Zvezdnaya Hotel with former members of the tanker crew, ship's electrician Vladimir Sablin, born 1933, Valentin Kniga born 1932, tanker mechanic and seaman Boris Pisanov, born 1929. They told us what happened to the tanker Tuapse one June night in 1954.

●

On the night of June 22 – June 23 our ship was stopped by a Taiwan warship. It fired several shots and then we were asked to present identification papers. The two men who were sent aboard with the papers did not return. Instead, about two hundred armed soldiers boarded our tanker. They tore down the Soviet flag and drove the crew into the Lenin auditorium. They tried to take the tanker in tow but their ship was not powerful enough. Then they made us start the engine...

So we arrived in Taiwan under escort. The crew refused to land, but were forced to do so. We underwent medical checkups. Then the crew was divided into groups. They started abusing us, demanding that we renounce our country and sign documents obliging us to go to the United States. After three months of torture most of us made up our minds to sign the papers and try to return home via the U.S. But only a few of us were taken there. Those who remained withdrew the papers they had signed earlier. As a result, we found ourselves in jail. For four long years we, the eleven remaining crewmen, were passed from prison to prison, tortured by electric shock, and badly beaten. At last we were taken to a military base and quartered in the barracks with the soldiers. We lived behind barbed wire. Conditions were tolerable, but abuses continued. We were not forced to work but could not leave the restricted zone. Initially we were paid 400 Taiwan dollars a month, and every three years the sum was augmented by 500 dollars. In recent years we were paid 6,5 thousand Taiwan dollars each (about 200 U.S. dollars).

●

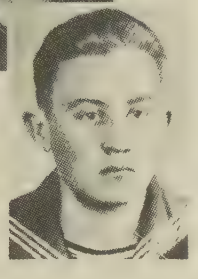
The problem of Taiwan arose in 1949 when, following the formation of the People's Republic of China, the remnants of the routed Guomindang headed by Chang Kaishi went to Taiwan and proclaimed the Republic of China on the island. In 1950 ships of the U.S. Seventh Fleet entered the Formosa Strait and U.S. troops and military advisers were stationed on the island. An army of half a million was raised in Taiwan with American assistance.

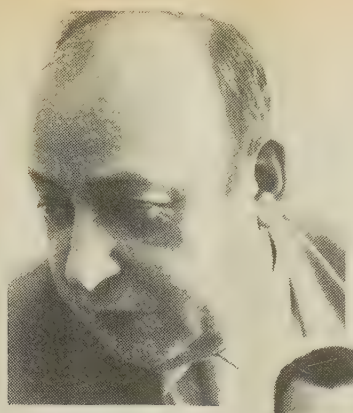
On June 24, 1954, the Deputy Foreign Minister of the U.S.S.R., Valerian Zorin, handed Charles E. Bohlen, the U.S. ambassador in Moscow, the note from the Soviet government to that of the U.S. on the seizure of the tanker Tuapse of the Black Sea Merchant Fleet. The note said that the Soviet government expected the government of the United States to take steps to facilitate the early return of the ship, its cargo and its crew. Simultaneously the Soviet government insisted on the U.S. officials being severely punished for the organization of this illegal act and the adoption of measures to rule out the possibility of such an act being repeated.

Until 1971 the Soviet government insistently demanded that the Soviet sailors be returned home. As a result of the measures taken at the time in May 1955 it had been possible to secure the release of 29 members of the crew. Then 5 men returned home via the United States, and another four via Brazil. Mikhail Ivankov-Nikolov, Venedikt Eremenko, Viktor Tatarnikov and Viktor Solovyov, who refused to return home, stayed in the United States. Until recently nothing was known of the fates of the seven remaining Soviet sailors who languished in a Guomindang jail. Up to 1971 the Executive Committee of the Alliance of the Red Cross and the Red Crescent Societies of the U.S.S.R. were making attempts to learn the whereabouts of the Soviet sailors and the conditions in which they were being held. So from the International Committee of the Red Cross via the permanent mission of the U.S.S.R. in Geneva on January 25, 1971, information was received that an International Red Cross representative had been to Taiwan and had talks with the local Foreign Ministry's officials on the return of the Soviet sailors. However, no final answer as to the intentions of the Taiwan authorities on the matter was received. Notification was promised to the Soviet side on the arrival of new information.

Today and 34 years ago

Vladimir Sablin





Valentin Kniga

Boris Pisanov

Moreover, at the time the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Merchant Marine was working to facilitate the maintenance of correspondence between the sailors and their relatives in the Soviet Union. The archives of the Ministry of the Merchant Marine still preserve the letters, which failed to reach their destinations, the latest of which were sent in 1971. Bearing all this in mind, one can appreciate the reaction with which we journalists were met at the airport by the three ex-sailors. Naturally, the tion arises: what could have hindered the return of our compatriots at the proper time? Another question is: why is it only now, thirty-four years later, that they have had the opportunity to return home?

Clearly the positive changes in our policy have played a part. It has become more humane, and more responsive to the fates of individuals. This is also evidenced, among other things, by the steps to facilitate the return of the Soviet servicemen from captivity and the amnesty of those who committed offences against the Soviet Union while being held.

At present of all the Tuapse's crew one member, Vsevolod Lopatyuk, is still in Taiwan. He turned down the chance to return home. Why did he make this decision? The sailors who have just got back could not answer this question. At any rate, he can hardly be expected to apply the same yardsticks now as the four who remained in the United States in 1956, and who in their open letter to their former homeland wrote thus:

"...After our time on the Island of Formosa (now Taiwan) the agencies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the U.S.S.R. would look on us as on potential enemies of Soviet power, capable of espionage, sabotage and political murder, 'traitors to the Motherland' to use the standard Soviet charge.

"This prospect has only strengthened us in our intention to choose a regime of freedom and democracy.

"We have firmly decided, once and for all, to live and work permanently in hospitable America. In so far as we are able we shall attempt to become useful members of this society.

"It will therefore be understood that any rendezvous with the staff at the Soviet embassy in the U.S. or with any other Soviet representatives is out of the question.

"We have nothing to discuss..."

The letter was signed by Ivankov-Nikolov, Eremenko, Tatarnikov.

This message, like other papers written by those who stayed away, abound in clichés of the kind used in the composition of such documents. And the hackneyed phrase "has strengthened us

From news bulletins of that time

A Soviet tanker, passing with a cargo of kerosene in the open sea south of the Island of Taiwan, was stopped by a warship. Under threat of fire, the tanker had to change its course and follow the warship. The skipper of the Tuapse could only transmit a message about being attacked by a naval ship after which radio communications with the tanker broke off. This attack on the Soviet tanker was a gross violation of freedom of navigation in the open sea and the basic norms of international law. It angered the public all the more as this illegal act came on top of other similar incidents.

Earlier attacks had been made in the region on British ships, the St. George, the Glenoven, and the Rosita, skipper of the Rosita being murdered. In August 1953, in the Formosa Strait, an attack was made on the British merchant ship Inchulva en route to Hong Kong. It came to the point where the British Navy had to escort British merchanting vessels.

In the summer of 1953 the Danish steamer Heinrich Jessen was seized in the Formosa Strait (now the Taiwan Straight). In September 1953, the Polish tanker Praca came under piratical assault, and in May 1954 the Polish vessel Presydent Gottwald was attacked.

The United States, having unleashed the war against the Korean people, simultaneously announced "the control" of Far Eastern waters by the U.S. Seventh Pacific Fleet. Taking this step, the U.S. military authorities believed they would strengthen their position in the Far East.

in our intention to choose a regime of freedom and democracy" sounds as if it has been dictated. Nevertheless, the four members of the crew failed to find the strength to continue their struggle to return home.

●

The families of all the Tuapse's crew drew wages from the Black Sea Merchant Line while their relatives were being held, and the families of those who are still in Taiwan continue to receive them.

On arrival in the Soviet Union, all the sailors were given the chance to relax in sanatoria and rest homes.

By the Decree of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet Presidium of August 10, 1955, No. 223/43, the vessel's skipper Vitaly Kalinin was awarded the Red Banner of Labour Order, and 28 members of the crew the Badge of Honour orders for showing patriotism, fortitude and courage in the course of their duty. They continued to work with the Black Sea Merchant Line, and some sailed overseas.

But those who stayed away can hardly be blamed for their behavior. They had recent memories of the times of tyranny and the concomitant fear of the repressive bodies who for so long had committed outrages in our land. Times frequently change faster than people's mentalities. Would such a thing have happened a few years earlier...

All the deeper is our feeling of respect and admiration for the actions of people who have gone through torture and abuse abroad, undergone all hardships, yet returned home.

Relatives were waiting for them. Boris Pisanov's sister, Valentin Kniga's sister and grandnephew and Vladimir Sablin's cousin arrived in Moscow from other towns in the Soviet Union. Telephone calls from distant and near relatives continue to come to the Ministry of the Merchant Marine. But we cannot say now how the department will treat its former employees in terms of financial support. At any rate, some time in the future, this problem being somewhat complicated, the Ministry of the Merchant Marine of the U.S.S.R. will give an answer on this point.

We would like to dwell specially on those who did not live to return to their families but who would have returned home without hesitation. The last days of their lives were described in detail by the

George Dimov, Mikhail Kalmazan, Anatoly Kovalyov. Their graves are somewhere in Taiwan.

sailors who returned from Taiwan. They testify thus:

"There were six of us crew members in jail, including George Dimov... He developed a stomach ulcer and was transferred to a military hospital. But the

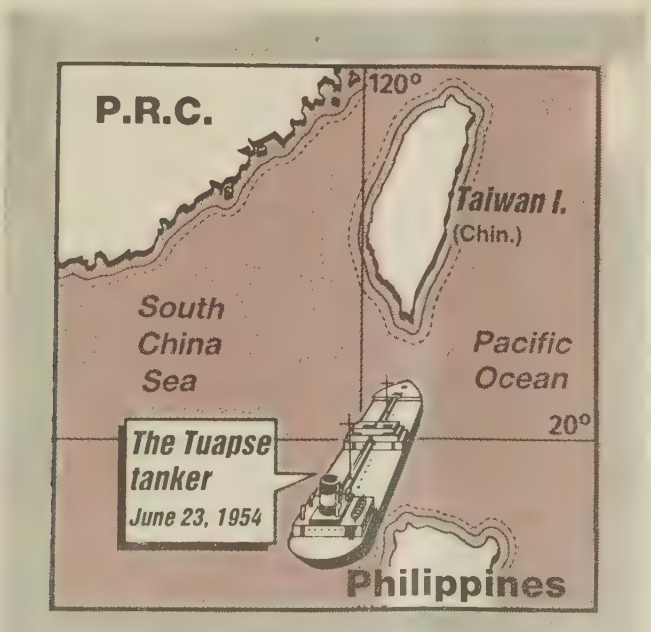
Guomindang authorities provided him with virtually no treatment. Things were so bad that at times the Chinese patients in the same ward shared their medicine with him because he was deprived of it. The government, however, gave some seven thousand local dollars for treatment, but the money did not reach the patient: the service personnel helped themselves to it. He was sent back to jail. His health was in a critical state, he was unable to eat, and he became depressed. The torture and all sorts of abuse were too much for him and he committed suicide. Two more our friends died of beatings – Mikhail Kalmazan and Anatoly Kovalyov. Three of us remained in jail after their deaths."

Until recently the fate of these sailors remained unknown. Making their names public, we express our condolences to their families, relatives and near ones.

●

How does it feel to be back home after 34 years' absence?

The Tuapse tanker. Photo 1954.



On June 23, 1954, the tanker Tuapse was seized by a Guomindang warship south of Taiwan 19 degrees 55 minutes N. and 120 degrees 23 minutes E.

Says Valentin Kniga:

"It's sure great to be home again, to reunite with my folks. Frankly, though I've gone through a few unpleasant moments from the very start. Right in the Sheremetyevo-2 airport I had to do a lot of explaining who we were, spent quite a while clearing ourselves and our passports (issued by the Soviet Consulate in Singapore, mind you) with the customs officials.

"All this may not be worth mentioning, of course, but we had more problems in the Zvyozdnaya Hotel. The staff was shockingly inattentive and took almost an hour to accommodate us. Abroad, it's different. Unfortunately, the comparison is not in our favour."

To tell the truth, we had no coherent answer to that. Unlike ourselves, accustomed as we are to our surroundings, they still remember how it used to be in this respect before their final voyage. And honestly, the comparison is not to today's credit.

When in the editorial office we learned of the forthcoming return of our four sailors, we recalled the film "An Accident." Few people remember it now. It is an account of the Soviet sailors taken prisoner abroad who stood the test of courage and did all they could to secure their return. For some of them their difficult way home lay through American soil. The film is based on the true story. One of the central parts was played by People's Artist of the U.S.S.R. Vyacheslav Tikhonov (the prototype of the part he played was the tanker's mechanic Viktor Lyakhovsky who on his return to the Soviet Union continued to work on his merchant shipping line).

"During my work on the role," Tikhonov said in a conversation with these correspondents, "I had the pleasure more than once of meeting him (Lyakhovsky) and many other members of the Tuapse crew. For me, at that time still a budding actor, these people were genuine examples of courage and fortitude, all of them were good companions and to be among them was a pleasure.

"It is a great pity that the film stopped being shown in our cinemas soon after its release. I think that now we have too many dull and soulless movies which, strange as it seems, have 'the green light' in cinemas throughout the country, while such films as 'An accident' are gathering dust. One asks oneself why this fine film has been forgotten for so long..."

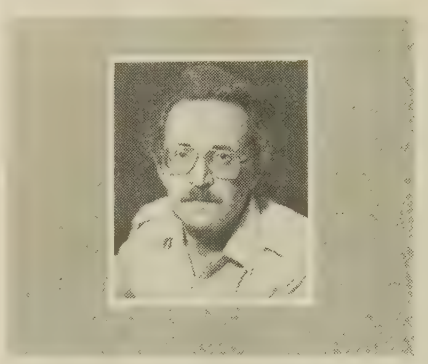
Irina Lagunina
Mikhail Khrobostov

When this issue had gone to press

The Ministry of the Merchant Marine has allocated financial aid to the returnees. Now the question of providing the sailors with housing as soon as possible is being considered.

In the meantime, the three mariners are going for medical treatment and recreation to the rest home belonging to the Black Sea Merchant Line near Odessa. In short, the life of the former sailors is returning to normal..

JUNIOR WORLD



Cautious optimism

What does the new school year, which begins on September 1, hold in store for us?

Teachers are awaiting it with some anxiety. If the year does bring changes, what will they be like? If it doesn't – well, things simply can't go on as they are. Pravda writes: "Perhaps the most destructive effect of the years of stagnation has been in the field of education... Our education system has found itself on the brink of catastrophe."

The absence of rights is the scourge of the secondary school and the higher education system.

Pupils have no rights. A child can be bawled at, sworn at, and systematically given bad marks, especially if he happens to be a slow thinker or has a bad handwriting, cannot sit still for long without fidgeting, or talks back to the teacher. A pupil who has fallen out of favour with the teacher is lost. Neither he nor his parents will ever get a sympathetic hearing. There is nothing they can do about that. It gives me pain to confess that when I hear parents complain that their kids are maltreated in school all I can do is shrug and sigh. How can I help these poor parents? Any attempt to intervene on their behalf would trigger off a spate of reprisals, and the school bureaucracy wouldn't budge an inch. The councils organized at every school are supposed to protect the interests of the children. But on their present showing, they are being created hastily and have no real powers.

The teacher has no rights. Year in, year out, teachers are told that the schools will be spared the incessant checks by inspectors and other supervisors, but the ferocious, and therefore ineffective checks continue to increase. Woe betide the teacher who has dared teach in his own way, made friends with the children ("he's undermining the teacher's authority by being familiar with the pupils"), or criticizes the school administration. Teachers are the most dependent group of workers in the country. Every spring when the teaching load is determined, their salary is revised, and in many schools its size depends directly on how the teacher behaves at meetings of the school's pedagogical council. You ask for more democracy, and before you know it your salary is slashed.

Again I ask myself, how can I help? Formerly, one could do something by writing to a newspaper, but today an article that mentions a teacher's name is likely to make that teacher a target of victimization. There is a teacher by the name of Mikhail Urin who lives in the town of Donetsk. I have never met him but I know that he has founded a Sukhomlinsky museum in his school (so, he is obviously a man who cares about education) and that once during a conference he came to the speaker's platform with an oxygen cylinder. Some school administrators, he said, were prone to cut off oxygen to a teacher they happen to dislike. I wrote about this incident in Literaturnaya Gazeta and said that a teacher with an oxygen cylinder is a symbol of our school today. I didn't realize how right I was. Nobody denied the story about the oxygen cylinder, but they wrote that Mikhail Urin is not a symbol of our school because he is not an innovator, does not subscribe to the "pedagogics of cooperation" and even beats his pupils. One might have suspected that some education bosses were illiterate, but not so illiterate as not to understand the meaning of such words as "symbol." In short, Mikhail Urin is being hounded and persecuted and there is nowhere he can turn for help or get a hearing. He may soon be thinking of leaving his town. I use the pages of this magazine to address this plea in ten languages to the officials in the Ukraine and at all-union level, "Leave the teacher alone, don't you see that you are compromising yourselves?" I'm not sure my plea will be heard.

Many teachers all over the country have paid a price for sticking their necks out like Mikhail Urin. Many teachers keep silent because they see what happens to anyone who wants a gulp of fresh air, even from an oxygen cylinder. "What can a teacher do? Who listens to us?" This is the recurring motif in many letters from schools and in almost every meeting with teachers.

School principals and college rectors have no rights either. Late last year, apparently to impress the forthcoming plenary meeting of the party's Central Committee which was to discuss education, the former Ministry of Public Education suddenly announced that the headmaster would at last have the right to hire and fire his staff, the right the schools have long been campaigning for. The plenary meeting has passed, the storm is over, and what happens? It was recently announced that the announcement was a mistake, that the decision hadn't been cleared with some quarters. The right to hire and fire teachers still belongs to the higher bodies, not the school.

This is just a farce.

Now this right is recorded in the draft Statute of the School made public recently. The new document contains many new ideas, it grants the school many other rights including that to draw up its own Regulations. A comparison between this draft and the previous one will show how far we have advanced – at least in words and on paper. Time will tell whether the Statute proves a strong enough barrier in the way of petty tyranny in school.

In the past, we welcomed the new school year with inspiration, new plans with enthusiasm and new bosses with optimism. After muddling through this year, seeing the plan fail, and realizing that the new leadership is no different from the old, we have suddenly seen the light and asked each other: where were you when all the decisions were being made? It was clear from the start... So, for a change, I would like to welcome the new school year by warning of possible disasters, as perhaps in this way there will be less of them in reality.

I will depart from the tradition of eulogies (I myself have been guilty of some as I was so eager to see things improve), and as the teachers embark on a long and difficult year, I advise them: be optimistic, but cautiously so.

Simon Soloveichik

What's new?

Albania is changing: such is the underlying theme of international press comments on the country today. Albanians themselves treat such assertions with reserve, if not scepticism. As Reis Malile, Albania's Minister of Foreign Affairs, put it: "It's not we, but the others who are changing."

Let us not dispute this statement, although there is no denying the fact that ours is a time of changes, to which all countries are more or less susceptible. "The others" are certainly changing, ourselves included. Moscow has largely revised its attitude to socialist countries over the past few years. The "big brother" approach is giving way to equal partnership.

Until a few years ago, the question of when our relations with Albania would be normalized drew a typical reply such as: "We are a great power; we can wait." Now the emphasis has been shifted from what divides socialist countries to what unites them. The socialist world, diverse as it is, is now going through a period of reconstruction and reform.

This applies to Albania as well. What I mean is not so much internal changes as "opening the door to the outside world." Albania has markedly livened up its foreign policy. A journalist noted that the "war" element is disappearing from its relations with other countries. The state of hostilities between Albania and Greece was terminated last year (although, fortunately, the war existed only on paper, it was the longest one of the 20th century). Eliminating the consequences of World War II (the settling of the reparations problem) has helped restore normal relations and begin active economic cooperation between Albania and the F.R.G.

Hopefully, a mutually acceptable solution will soon be found to the issue of Britain returning the Albanian gold that has been in its possession since World War II, whereupon diplomatic relations will be established between the two countries.

Albania's most important move of late has been, I think, sending her Foreign Minister to the Balkan meeting in the Yugoslav capital. The results of the meeting have already been summed up, so I'll confine myself to a few general comments.

The joint communiqué of the Foreign Ministerial meeting contains an important provision on the inviolability of borders. By signing this document, Albania has acceded (albeit indirectly, through the system of inter-Balkan cooperation) to one of the key provisions of the Helsinki Final Act. (Albania was the only country to have stayed away from the all-European Conference under the pretext that the forum served the interests of the great powers and helped them impose their rules on the world). The signing of the Belgrade document is a move of fundamental importance for Albania as no one will now have any grounds for reproaching Tirana with failure to recognize the inviolability of national frontiers.

Furthermore, thanks to Balkan cooperation, Albania will be able to participate on a broader scale in various processes in the Mediterranean and Europe as a whole, while preserving in principle its general foreign policy line.

Albania's new moves have led to new questions, which the numerous publications about the "land of mountain eagles" abound in, the chief of which is what the overall direction of these moves is. This interest is only natural. However, the approach which restricts Albania's choice of orientation to the "East, or West" principle seems one-sided.

At one time it might have fitted in well with the polarized scheme of things whereby all countries were divided into "friendly" and "alien." Today the world is increasingly becoming multipolar, and a state need not align itself with any one grouping in order to play an appreciable role in the world community. Even more importantly, in my opinion, the new moves taken by Albania manifest the process of individual states becoming increasingly interconnected and interdependent on a worldwide scale.

This process is of an objective character. It would therefore be one-sided to say that Albania is opening its door to the West or the East. The new moves in question express the interests above all of Albania herself. They stem from the new Albanian leadership's awareness of the fact that isolation and seclusion could do the country more harm than good (and are in any case altogether impossible), and Albania's desire to participate in equal and mutually beneficial cooperation, chiefly for the purpose of solving its domestic problems, of which it has several.

So Albania is changing. Does this apply to its attitude to our country? There are so far no tangible indications of that, except for a certain, but none too obvious, shift of emphasis in its criticism.

In an issue for 1988, the Italian magazine Panorama mentions an interesting detail. Speaking of the potential of the Albanian tourist industry, Sokrat Plaka, Albania's Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, said it had enough facilities to accommodate even the Russians, "should they come tomorrow." True, he added, this does not mean that "we will give them an enthusiastic welcome."

This remark can hardly be interpreted as an invitation to visit the country, but the very fact that the Russians are mentioned as abstract tourists (albeit unwelcome ones) rather than as concrete enemies is certainly symptomatic. Nevertheless, I repeat, it is still too early to speak of real changes.

The Albanian press has not changed its tone and continues to broadcast extremely prejudiced comment on our home and foreign policy developments as a matter of routine. How are we to react to these comments? On a "tit for tat" basis? This seems to be the simplest thing to do, at first glance. But it is common knowledge that the simplest does not always mean the wisest. In the past we followed this principle, with the result that the other side often overreacted. The break with Albania in 1961 is a case in point. If applied today, this principle would have a still more adverse effect on our relations. Moscow is aware of that.

He who has patience wins out in the end, an Albanian proverb goes. It is about time patience bore fruit.

Gennady Sysoyev

Czechoslovakia. August 1968

Milan Matouš

On August 21, 1968, troops from the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic and Poland entered Czechoslovakia. The action was undertaken in response to requests from thousands of Czechoslovak citizens – from rank-and-file workers to prominent party and government officials. They had seen the threat of counterrevolution in their country and been convinced that, due to a split in the party and government leadership, the crisis could not be dealt with without outside help and that matters could reach the point of terror and bloodshed.

There is also another view of the events in question. Some of those who, prior to normalization, bore the brunt of responsibility for developments in the country argue – and are supported by certain propaganda sources in the West – that the process then at work in Czechoslovakia was progressive, that the anti-socialist forces were insignificant, that the international action constituted interference and the policy of consolidation pursued by the country's Communist Party in subsequent years has led Czechoslovakia astray from the "correct" path. Moreover, there have been attempts in recent years to draw an analogy between the situation prior to August 1968 and the current policy of restructuring. People expelled from the Czechoslovak Communist party for opportunism are now posing as unacknowledged trailblazers of perestroika. Dubček is compared to Gorbachev!...

Aborting reformers

Basically, can one draw a parallel between 1968 and perestroika today? In some ways, yes. In Czechoslovakia in the late 1960s there was mounting criticism of the administrative and bureaucratic methods of management that were retarding the activity of the party, the workers and the people at large and resulting in stagnation. The 12th and 13th Congresses of the Czechoslovak Communist Party sought for ways of switching the extensive economy over to intensive development. There was a new awareness of the need to take stock of the value of law, and give greater independence to industrial facilities. People were demanding democratization, criticizing formalism in political work and urging a free discussion of optimum ways of resolving the complex problems of socialism's further development. The more conscientious comrades rejected both dogmatism in theory and propaganda and parroting fashionable Western concepts. The January 1968 plenary meeting of the Communist Party's Central Committee provided evidence that reforms aimed at reviving the ideals of socialism enjoyed the spontaneous support of the majority in the party and the poeple.

Why were those reforms never implemented? The party's new leadership (Alexander Dubček was elected First Secretary) chose a different path. It failed to bring home to the party and the public the contents and aims of the course outlined by the plenum, or to mobilize support for it. A subjective interpretation of the programme elaborated in January 1968 was used as a stepping stone to transient popularity by such functionaries as Ota Sik, František Kriegel, Josef Spaček, Vaclav Slavik, Josef Smrkovský, F. Vodsloň, J. Boruvka, Vaclav Prchlík, and others. Revisionist views, right-wing opportunism and downright careerism were the common platform uniting them in a group that captured control of the party and the country.

It took the Central Committee too long – all of three months – to adopt a programme of action which was, moreover, both vague and contradictory: it was worked out by proponents of Marxist–Leninist views and right-wingers alike. Still, when it was finally adopted in early April, the right contemptuously called it a "stillborn child." Their ambitions were now more far-reaching. The programme, already unable to influence the course of events, was ignored by the right, who prepared completely different documents for a party congress to be held in September. It is only now, 20 years later, that the right (and Dubček) have begun to mention the programme of action – rightly or wrongly – quoting those passages in it that were defended in spite of their own opposition.

The right and other forces hostile to socialism also assumed control of another sphere which, with a platform, is important in politics: the selection and distribution of personnel. Honest Communists and committed Socialists were subjected to scandalous attacks and given no opportunity to defend themselves. Leading posts went to people who lacked integrity and political vision. Party bodies, public organizations and government institutions were turned into arenas for a power struggle.

It should be said that up to a certain critical point we could have tackled our problems on our own. The consolidation of the pro-socialist forces following the adoption of the programme of action in April 1968 confirmed that the overwhelming majority of both Communists and non-party people supported socialism. But in the summer of 1968 the government bodies were virtually paralyzed, Yes, the majority in the security bodies, the army and People's Militia (armed units of workers at factories that have existed since February 1948) were ready to come out resolutely against the counterrevolution. But the leadership and command of the security bodies, the armed forces and workers' units became the target of a slander campaign. Moreover, right-wingers were assigned to many key posts.

Right-wing hopes doomed

However, the greatest obstacle in the way of a decisive attack on the counterrevolution was disunity in the party leadership. The situation reminded one of the Krylov fable about the swan, the crawfish and the pike. Former right-wingers claim today that they were "in control of the situation" – and, unfortunately, there is a great deal of truth in that. The right isolated the Central Committee from the rest of the party, and many steps and decisions of principle were taken without the knowledge of "inconvenient" members of the Central Committee Presidium – those who adhered to Marxist-Leninist positions.

With the tacit agreement of Dubček,

Milan Matouš, a corresponding member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, deputy director, Institute of Marxism–Leninism, CC CPCz

Smrkovsky, Kriegel, Mlynář and others (and at times with their active support) partisans on the right and indisputable opponents of socialism secured a monopoly in the media. Anti-socialist forces set up legal or semilegal organizations. There emerged a so-called "Club of non-party activists," in effect an anti-communist political party. The "Club 231" united people formerly condemned under the Law on the Defence of the Republic – including collaborationists, nazis, spies, saboteurs and subverters. They did not conceal that they were drawing up lists of people to be physically removed at an opportune moment. The reactionary clergy also became active. A special role was played by preparatory committees for the "revival of social democracy." By late June the anti-socialist circles considered themselves ripe to call on their supporters to take power in the localities by force. The appeal, known as the "2000 Words," was published by a number of newspapers and magazines, while the then leadership of the party and government could offer nothing to oppose it.

The arrival of the allied forces on August 21 deprived the counterrevolution of the hope of seizing power. The plans of revisionists and opportunists in the party were likewise disrupted. It is clear why the reaction unleashed a nationalist anti-Soviet hysteria. Some people in the West now claim that the clamor was raised by a majority, indeed almost the entire population of Czechoslovakia. In essence, however, neither before nor after August did the anti-socialist forces manage to attract the working class, cooperative farmers of the majority of intellectuals. The right didn't dare call on factory staffs to support their political demands: they feared public failure. The hour-long general strike of August 21 was actually held during a break, outside factory gates, and its trifling effect warned the right never to attempt anything of the kind again. Equally significant is the fact that even the most reactionary of propagandists never dared demand the disbandment of farming cooperatives. The cooperatives had in the course of a few years managed to close the difference between rural and urban living standards.

True, one has to admit that in 1968 many honest people, committed to socialism, were disoriented by the rapid developments, unable to distinguish between justified criticism of failings and a threat to socialism's basic principles. (Later the party's Marxist-Leninist leadership based the entire policy of consolidation on a meticulous distinction between those who acted as opponents of socialism, holders of revisionist views and conduits of opportunism, and those who deceived for a time by the misinformation, wavered.)

However, the counterrevolution did have a social base. It was supported by thousands of former exploiters and members of their families (only 20 years had elapsed since the popular victory of February 1948), and representatives of the former government and managerial apparatus. Together with right-wing opportunists, the counterrevolutionaries also took advantage of political instability on the part of hundreds of thousands of people of petty-bourgeois origin. Many overambitious and unsuccessful people, too, saw their chance in collaborating with the right. Many demonstrations and provocations were initiated by anti-social, criminal elements. At times, the right succeeded in using demagogic slogans to deceive and assume leadership of the young.

Five minutes to midnight

It is important to recall here that the allied forces that entered Czechoslovakia on August 21 did not interfere in our internal development. On the crest of demagogy and chauvinistic sentiment, the right even managed to expand their positions somewhat in subsequent months. But they could no longer prevent the ideological and political contours of the party and society being clearly defined and the gradual rallying of Marxist-Leninist forces and those committed to socialism. An important turning point was marked by the April 1969 plenary meeting of the Communist Party's Central Committee, where Gustav Husak was elected First Secretary of the Central Committee. A renewal of the party's unity and the expulsion of people who had failed to live up to the name of Communists and Marxist-Leninists served as the key to the renewal of socialism. In the spring of 1971 the 14th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party stated that the crisis in the party and society had been dealt with.

Lately statements have been made to the effect that the events of 1968 in Czechoslovakia and the internationalist help we were given deserve reappraisal. But the question is how the reappraisal should be understood. We have no doubt as to the position of our opponents. As for us, Czechoslovak Communists, the Central Committee in December 1970 and the party at its 14th Congress in the spring of 1971 endorsed the document "The lessons of crisis developments in the party and society after the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia." With time the basic estimates and conclusions contained in the document have been finding ever more comprehensive corroboration. However, such a conspicuous page in the party's history as the events of 1968 still deserves a profound and complete scientific analysis which is far from being completed.

We have now accumulated the experience of the past 20 years. A comparison with Poland in the early 1980s is very instructive. The Soviet Union's example now provides qualitatively new approaches to our assessment of the past. All that provides for and demands an extension of our theoretical knowledge of the events of 1968.

What problems come to the fore here? One must distinguish very carefully between justified demands of the time and abuse of them, the distortion of those demands by opportunist and anti-socialist forces. One must make a clear distinction between the words, intentions and actions of separate political groups or individuals, for many people were then honestly trying to surmount the problems of previous years. Some of them were too late in recognizing that they had become tools in the hands of political adventurists.

There is likewise no reason to avoid a reappraisal of the international help. It did not start on August 21. Prior to that there had been a series of multilateral and bilateral talks and exchanges, as well as recommendations and proposals and material support. Bourgeois propaganda and some of the former right view August 21 as a twist of the "Brezhnev era." Here too further research into the problem will have to distinguish between the essence of the internationalist help and a number of concomitant phenomena. The mutual internationalist solidarity of the socialist countries and their Communist parties, mutual assistance at a moment of urgent need, the common interest in preserving and defending socialism are all principles that have been and will remain valid despite subjective mistakes by this or that politician. And if certain concrete steps in future receive a more profound and critical appraisal, this will not alter the fact that in August 1968 a helping hand was extended to us at "five minutes to midnight."

We remain sincerely grateful to the fraternal socialist countries for their help to Czechoslovakia. I say this as a Czechoslovak Communist, aware of the responsibility for the problems we created for the international communist movement and forces of progress through our mistakes, dogmatism, bureaucratic methods, revisionism and opportunism.

The current policy of comprehensive restructuring and the development of socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia is rooted in our historical experience, and the current demands of socialist progress. This policy has nothing in common with the policy of the right in 1968. The policy of today is in effect consistent action on the course endorsed by the 17th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, and the decisions of the December 1987 plenary meeting of the Central Committee, when Milos Jakeš was elected General Secretary. Like perestroika in the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries, this policy is aimed at reviving Lenin's principles and renewing socialism.

King of the road

Cars, automakers and motorists

For Romanians Dacia means what Zhiguli does for the people of this country. Or maybe even more. These small cars dominate roads throughout Romania. The Dacia family is large enough to have a monopoly: even a non-expert can see the kinship between the frivolously-painted small family car and the black government limousines that drive the highest-ranking guests to Bucharest, their own cars not being allowed. Both the black automobiles with conspicuous yellow numberplates and the quite ordinary cars that humbly slow down before the police (traffic police in Bucharest are even more severe and vigilant than ours) are assembled in Pitesti, Romania's biggest automobile plant.

– The first Dacia, which the plant subsequently bought back from the owner and placed in our museum, was assembled in August 1967, said Ghita Toma, Director of Export-Import. We have the licence to manufacture the car from Renault. That is why the Dacia resembles the Renault as much as your Zhiguli resembles the Fiat. Over these years we have tried a lot of modifications. Now we are producing four major makes that differ from each other in design, engine power and so on.

– How many cars a year do you produce?

– This year the figure will approach 160 thousand.

In 1987, as evidenced by the statistical reference book, 134 thousand automobiles were turned out to replenish the fleet of cars in Romania. The five-year plan envisages raising the output to 365 thousand by 1990.

– Which model is most popular?

Director Toma was quick to answer:

– My position obliges me to say that all our models are on equal demand.

– Do you personally own a car? – we tried another tack.

– Yes.

– What make?

– A Sedan.

– Then this is the best model, – we concluded. Director Toma diplomatically refrained from either confirming or refuting our speculation.

– How long does an average Dacia owner use the car?

– That depends on his financial position. Skilled and technically-minded people, who have no alternative, run the car for as long as eight years. It would be better, of course, if one changed one's car every five years or so.

– How much does a Dacia cost?

– Depending on the model, from 75 to 90 thousand lei.

This comes to approximately 7-9 thousand rubles. The average monthly wage in Romania stands at about 3.5 thousand lei.

– Do Dacias sell well?

– Sales could not be better. People have to wait five years for their turn...

In other words, when you buy a car, you simultaneously register your name for your next one as your turn will arrive just at the time when the old vehicle is about to disintegrate.

– But not all Dacias remain in Romania, do they?...

– We export 80 per cent of our cars to 150 countries, particularly socialist states, and especially Hungary, since they do not manufacture their own cars. We could export more, but then there would be none left for the home market. If you were to sell us more Zhigulis, we could honour all export contracts.

– And what about repair and maintenance of Dacias abroad?

– Teams of Romanian specialists responsible for repairs work in the countries that import our cars. As for scheduled maintenance, we make arrangements with local servicing facilities.

– What are people who like your cars to expect?

– This year we hope to launch the Dacia-1600 with a more powerful engine.

Today traffic in Romanian cities and towns is very heavy. In winter most car owners do not drive, economizing on petrol. In summer, filling stations are too busy, as all are eager to make up for the forced abstention.

The Dacia is not the only model to expect. Late in 1981 the Bucharest Fair demonstrated the first model of new automobile called the Oltcit, designed with the assistance of Citroen. This small three-door car is very economical, which is nowadays a great asset. Drivers told us that its petrol consumption is 7 litres per 100 kilometres.

The car most coveted by motorists is the Aro, an independently developed offshoot of our GAZ-69. The latter was taken as the basis for the first model, but now the Aro has little in common with its prototype as it is more roomy, more comfortable and has a distinctive appearance of its own; 80 per cent of these automobiles too go abroad. Aro cars are bought even in France and Italy, where cars of this class are popular.

– The Oltcit is purchased by young people, – said Director Ghita Toma, – while the Dacia is preferred by the more affluent. Now Romanians are taking to big cars, which are becoming fashionable and prestigious. People can afford them...

Indeed, the range of goods even in the capital failed to carry away our unspoilt imaginations. A while ago a car purchase was a less difficult problem, but over the past few years wages have been increasing. And what is there to spend them on? A car.

Industries, particularly the motor industry, are strongly oriented towards export. This tendency is encouraged by the self-management system, as it is called locally, which has now been introduced throughout the country. Our economists will recognize these objectives as cost-accounting, self-financing and self-administration at the enterprise. Here too people speak of serious shortcomings in production management, the domination of the bureaucratic administrative system and inappropriate methods of planning. At the meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the Romanian Communist Party CC last April, a proposal was put forward that a competition system for the filling of vacancies be introduced, a probation period for budding executives be established and the principle of personnel rotation observed.

The system of piece payment is being introduced at enterprises, which means more pay for more work.

– Wages are not limited here, – claims Director Toma. – A worker can earn 6-7 thousand lei a month.

In addition there are bonuses provided by profits in excess of the plan and for the fulfilment of export contracts. The enterprise retains 12 per cent of profits from exporting to countries that pay in hard currency and 6 per cent of profits from trade with socialist countries. The money goes to the financial incentives fund.

As in the U.S.S.R., work collective councils are being set up in Romania.

At the Pitesti plant, the council is headed by the director of the enterprise, and his deputy is the secretary of the party organization. Statutorily, the council meets once a month. At other times decisions are made by the executive bureau, consisting of 29 members.

Who are the people who make Dacias? Most of the workers are young people recruited from nearby villages and trained at the plant's vocational school. Using the local work force has helped resolve accommodation and transport problems. Workers do not have to put up in overcrowded hostels or travel from afar. Now a whole town has grown up on the strength of the plant.

There is no housing problem as such in Romania. A cooperative flat can be bought in a month while a state flat is provided in a year. This is only to be envied. The Dacia plant is free to arrange contracts with engineers and designers from universities to work in its research and design institute.

– What problems does the plant have?

– I think our problems are familiar to our Soviet colleagues, – replied Director Toma. – We wholly depend on contractors and not all of them have punctuality as their forte. We are somewhat vulnerable, as a certain proportion of necessary components come from abroad. Incidentally, we would like to start cooperating with Soviet car makers. On a parity principle, we could exchange parts and components.

– What would you like to receive from the Soviet Union? – we at once asked him.

– For example, electrical equipment, and synthetic rubber for tires.

– And what would you offer in exchange?

– I think we could find a way to interest Soviet importers, – Toma said evasively. – A working group should be set up to discuss the matter.

And the final question:

– Why are the cars named Dacia?

– Dacia means the land of the Daci, our ancestors...

Leonid Mlechin and Sergei Svirin,
our special correspondents
BUCHAREST

The political weekly New Times provides a full and clear picture of highlights in the Soviet Union and the world

New Times comes out in Russian, English, French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Polish, Czech and Greek, and is read in 114 countries.

Next year subscribers will get two free supplements on topical aspects of world affairs.

You can place your subscription for New Times with distributors of Soviet periodicals in your country.

Why Winston Churchill said No

Lev Bezymensky

You get a strange feeling reading in books, old newspapers and archive documents about events of which you were an eyewitness. Every now and again you want to exclaim, "No, that's not the way it happened at all!" But more often than not you experience astonishment as you discover that what you knew was only the tip of the iceberg.

An officer with the headquarters of the 1st Byelorussian Front advancing towards Warsaw in August-September 1944 knew only what he was supposed to know. Although it was my duty to inform the Front's headquarters about the course of the uprising in the Polish capital, there were obvious limits to the scope of my work. We learned about the uprising from Moscow and in the early stages had to make do with English radio broadcasts and the scant reports the General Staff received through the British military mission and passed on to us. It was only in mid-September that direct links were established, of which more later.

...As you go through the archive files your reaction varies. For instance, you can't help admiring the insight and honesty of the British General Staff officers who gave this unequivocal reply to Churchill's inquiry of August 8 as to why the Soviet offensive on Warsaw had halted and whether this had not been prompted by political considerations:

"The Germans are making great efforts to hold this nodal point in their communications and that they have surrounded and annihilated Russian armoured forces which were advancing on that city."

One can't help giving credit to the perspicacity of Churchill himself who, in a letter to London émigré leaders written at about the same time, rejected suggestions that the Soviet side had failed to react to the uprising and had not directed all its forces on Warsaw. On August 9 he wrote:

"It is of course even more unfortunate that it was not possible to coordinate this rising with the Soviet authorities whose armies are alone in a position to give really effective assistance, but whose strategic plans can hardly be modified at a moment's notice to meet the unforeseen contingencies."

One feels indignant, however, when reading Churchill's reproach to the Soviet government for allegedly failing to render material assistance to the rebels. In 1948 Churchill went even further, when he wrote:

The General Headquarters plan to rout the enemy in Eastern Poland. July 1944 (From the memoirs of General S. Shtemenko)

Continued. For beginning see Nos 33, 34.

"The guns of the Red Army charging westward could be plainly heard in Warsaw, but soon they grew silent as the Russians elected to call off their attack on the Warsaw front and inexplicably leave the Poles to their fate.

This is a positively outrageous statement. The version of the story in which the Soviet troops "halted" still has some currency, as I was able to see for myself during a recent visit to Warsaw. True, people there also complained that Soviet historians have been less than forthcoming in publishing documents and detailed and clear expositions of the real, often tragic facts. And this despite the fact that both the archives of the Armia Krajowa and the British military archives have long been declassified.

"We have at least two versions of Stanislaw Mikolajczyk talk with Joseph Stalin on August 3, 1944," said a Polish historian who had taken part in the uprising. "But we do not have a Soviet transcript."

That is why people in Poland expect a great deal from the Soviet-Polish commission of historians. The Soviet people too are waiting for its results. In the meantime I would like to share some reflections about the events of August-September 1944.

At the Rokossovsky Headquarters

In late July 1944 the Headquarters of the 1st Byelorussian Front, then completing an unprecedentedly deep offensive strike, was located on the outskirts of the Polish town of Siedlce. Sometimes we found it hard to believe that only a month before we staff officers had been working in tents tucked away in the forest near the Ukrainian town of Ovruch. We were preparing for another offensive for which the plan had been approved by the Supreme Command on May 30. As Marshal Vasilievsky was later to point out, the plan was simple, but involved an element of risk: the powerful German force in Byelorussia was to be attacked from the flanks, and flanks, being vulnerable, were always better protected. Let us make a mental note of that: an attack on the flanks.

The operation was to start on June 19-20. It was delayed until June 23. On June 6, in the forest near Ovruch, we learned of the opening of the Second Front. This meant more work for us: every evening we had to report to the command news from Moscow about the allied advance in Normandy. One was aware of a new quality to the war.

In the space of a month we were in Poland. I confess that Warsaw was not on our minds then as the initial plan had not envisaged taking it.

The details of the planning of the operations of the summer of 1944 have now been analyzed by Soviet military historians and described in the memoirs of wartime commanders. Under "Bagration" plan there were to be four deep strikes by four fronts to defeat the main force of the German "Centre" group of armies, liberate Soviet Byelorussia and thus create a bridgehead for further advance in west-

Der KOMMANDEUR
der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD für den Distrikt Radom
NACHRICHTEN-ÜBERMITTLUNG

Aufgenommen — Tag Monat Jahr — durch
Raum für Eingangsstempel
Befördert — Zeit Tag Monat Jahr — an — durch
Ü. Nr. 14098
Telegramm — Funkspruch
Fernschreiben — Fernspruch
Verteilervermerk

+ BDS. KRAKAU FS . 16 586 1.9.44 2335
AN DEN KDS. R A D O M .
BETR .: SIPO - LAGE .
STIMMUNG DER ZIVILBEVOELKERUNG VERSCHLECHTERT SICH .
AUFST . SEHEN LAGE SEHR ERNST . DA MANGEL AN MUNITION .
LT . VERHEHMUNGEN SETZEN SICH EINZELNE GRUPPEN ED .

German dispatch on the course of the suppression of the rising.

ern Ukraine, the Baltic, Eastern Prussia and Poland. In the direction of Minsk, the enemy was to be pushed back 200-250 kilometres; more detailed objectives on all the lines of the offensive were set to a depth of 70-160 kilometres.

Thorough preparation, heavy troop concentration and the high morale of the Soviet troops bore fruit: the "Centre" was routed. Minsk was liberated on July 3. Marshal Zhukov recalled that at a meeting of the Supreme Command on July 8 the possibility was raised of embarking on the liberation of Poland, and the Marshal himself believed it possible to establish a bridgehead west of the Vistula. It was then that the 1st Byelorussian Front's "Kovel" operation was conceived. it was to be completed by August 3. However, as General Shtemenko attests in his memoirs, it did not provide for the taking of Warsaw or the establishment of bridgeheads.

It is true, Shtemenko continues, that important changes soon had to be made in these plans. The retreat of the "Centre" created a new situation. New possibilities were discussed, including attacks on the German flanks to reach the Vistula. On July 27 the Supreme Command held an important meeting to discuss the possibility of an offensive on Warsaw and an outflanking manoeuvre – flanks again!

Let us now recall the Soviet Memorandum of September 9, which said that things might have been different if the British military command had told Moscow that an uprising in Warsaw was being prepared. If, say, it had been known on July 27, when the Supreme Command was meeting.

They say that thinking about the "ifs" of history is pointless. But for all that, there is no doubt that Soviet plans would have been different. There is even less doubt that Moscow would have advised General Bor not to undertake an uprising until the outcome of the operations planned on July 27 was clear. It must be said that considerable hopes were pinned on these operations, although the forces of the 1st Byelorussian Front were very tired after having covered 500-600 kilometres. On the evening of July 31, Vyacheslav Molotov told Mikolajczyk that the Soviet forces were within ten kilometres of Warsaw. But...

War is war. It was on July 31 that the advanced armoured troops that came closest to Warsaw suffered a heavy defeat, and there was grueling fighting on other sections of the front as well. The Front was over-extended. As General Antipenko, commander of logistics at the Front, recalled in his memoirs, by mid-July

"communications were so incredibly extended that no land transport could bring supplies to the troops that had advanced far ahead."

This was not academic reasoning. The 3rd Armoured Corps of the 2nd Armoured Army, which reached Prague in late July, **"could not,"** according to Antipenko,

"conduct active operations near Warsaw because it had no fuel. The 2nd Armoured Army had to go on the defensive."

On July 31, the 3d and 8th Armoured Corps approached the Prague defenses, but met with stiff resistance from fresh reinforcements – up to 5 divisons! The Soviet side lost 284 tanks and self-propelled guns, 40 per cent of which were beyond repair. This was attested by General Alexander Radzievsky, who commanded the army.

So, August 1 was the least favourable day for starting the uprising.

Warsaw, August

Some events do not lend themselves to rational explanations or statistical assessment. How could the Warsaw uprising hold out for two months? How could the 25-28 thousand fighters, of whom only a fraction were armed, hold out all

this time against the 50,000 or more well-armed troops of the occupiers? Jerzy Kirchmayer, a well-known historian of the uprising, thinks that by August 1 Bor had 47 machine guns, about 2,600 rifles and 1.2 tons of explosives. Where did the strength of the insurgents lie? In the first place, in the exceptional urge of national feeling on the part of the people of Warsaw, which now – for the first time, for a long time! – united all the different factions of the Resistance. Although the AK did not warn the AL of the rising, there was no question but that the Communists would take part. The outbreak of fighting had a galvanizing effect that was difficult to assess from a distance – we know that in the first days of the revolt Stalin sent a note to Churchill drawing his attention to the weakness of the insurrectionary forces.

But as time went on the difficulties confronting the insurgents became increasingly evident.

It was an unequal battle. At the start of the uprising the German forces in Warsaw comprised some 15,000 ground troops of the Wehrmacht, 13,000 airmen, 4,000 police and 4,000 SS troops. The invaders knew as early as July 25 that an uprising was being prepared (although they did not know the exact date). When fighting broke out, a special corps commanded by SS Obergruppenführer Erich von dem Bach-Zelewski was sent in against the rebels.

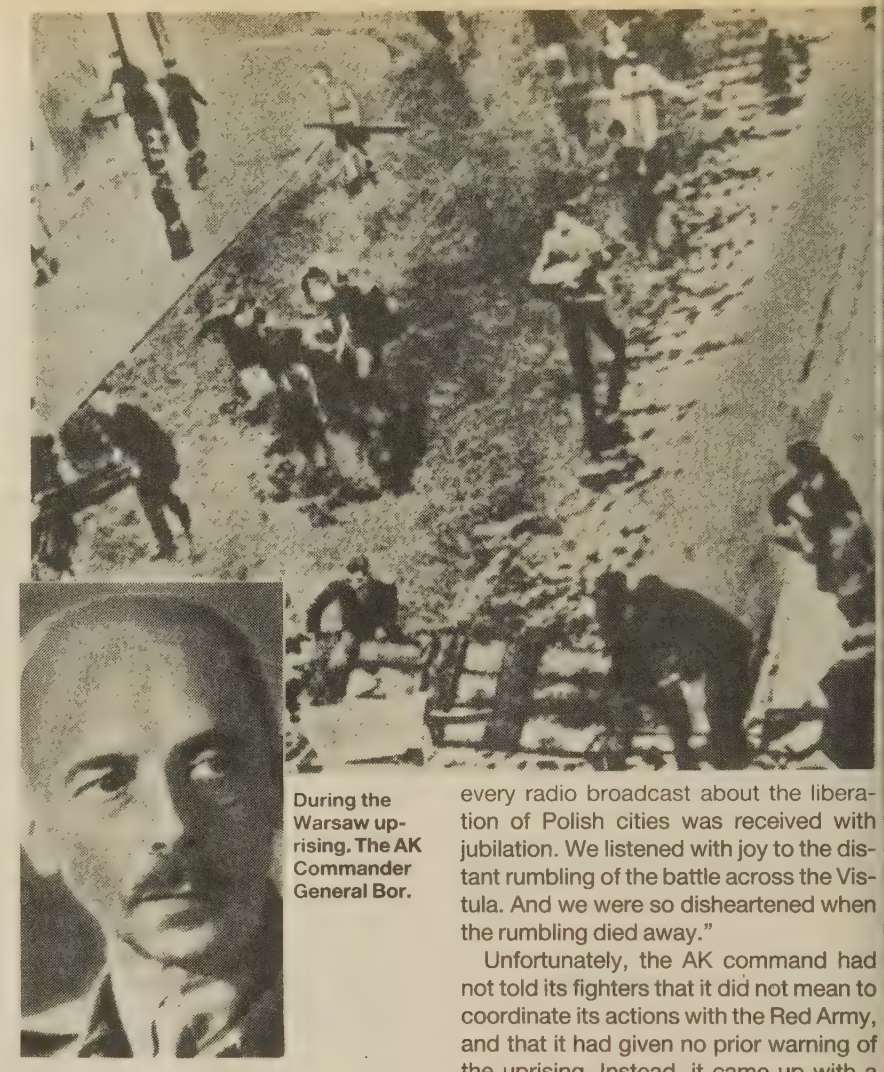
The cruelty of the occupiers knew no bounds. They already had experience of suppressing the Warsaw Jewish ghetto uprising in the spring of 1943 when more than 50,000 people were killed, including women, old people and children. This time, too, the troops were ordered to spare no one. Polish governor-general Hans Frank wrote in his diary on August 5:

"Most of Warsaw is on fire. Burning houses is the surest way to deprive the rebles of shelter. After this uprising Warsaw will suffer its deserved fate of total destruction."

Reichsführer of the SS Heinrich Himmler said:

"From the historical point of view, the fact of the uprising is a godsend. In 5 or 6 weeks Warsaw, the capital, the nucleus, the flower of the intelligentsia of this 16-17-million-strong people, will be wiped from the face of the earth."

Hitler personally controlled the suppression of the uprising. To prevent the Soviet troops linking up with the rebels, the command of the 9th German Army (General Nicolaus von Vormann) brought in large reinforcements and concentrated on the defense of the Warsaw area, while von dem Bach's group fought the rebels. The invaders quickly realized that the rebels were in trouble. Frank made this entry in his diary:



During the Warsaw uprising. The AK Commander General Bor.

"The rebels' morale is flagging. Most of all, they are displeased with the lack of the assistance apparently promised from the Anglo-American airborne troops."

No assistance was forthcoming. The effect of dropping cargoes from a great height was infinitesimal. That is why the rebles were asking the legitimate question (reported to London by the AK command) of whether there had been an agreement on assistance from the Red Army. An old acquaintance of mine, Marian Podkowinski, then a youthful rebel and now a veteran Polish journalist, remembers,

"What a mood reigned in the city, what joy was written on the faces of the people who believed that freedom was at hand. There was no hostility towards the Soviet Union or the Red Army. On the contrary, every radio broadcast about the liberation of Polish cities was received with jubilation. We listened with joy to the distant rumbling of the battle across the Vistula. And we were so disheartened when the rumbling died away."

Unfortunately, the AK command had not told its fighters that it did not mean to coordinate its actions with the Red Army, and that it had given no prior warning of the uprising. Instead, it came up with a version about the "delay" of the Soviet offensive.

In a despatch from Warsaw to London, General Bor asked Mikolajczyk and Sosnkowski to convey a request "for Soviet assistance." On August 3 the AK headquarters confirmed that it had "asked for help" (this was a brazen piece of misinformation). Moreover, several days later the BBC broadcast a report that the rebels had at last established contacts with the advancing Red Army. Alas, this too was misinformation. How had it come about?

Zenon Kliszko, who took part in the fighting, recalls that one day he found himself in a basement where they were reading aloud the AK bulletin reporting that the Polish Government in London was considering the question of aid to Warsaw.

"A storm broke out in the basement. People showered questions why so late? Why are they still conferring? What are they planning to do? Why don't they coordinate their actions with the Soviets and not just hold meetings?"

The question as to whether contact had been made with the Red Army was so natural that it was even raised among the AK commanders. Needless to say, the AL fighters were clamouring for such links to be established. Even in London, the Polish emigré leaders were reproached on this score by British diplomats and the military.

Suddenly, they had an answer to these reproaches.

Who was Captain Kalugin?

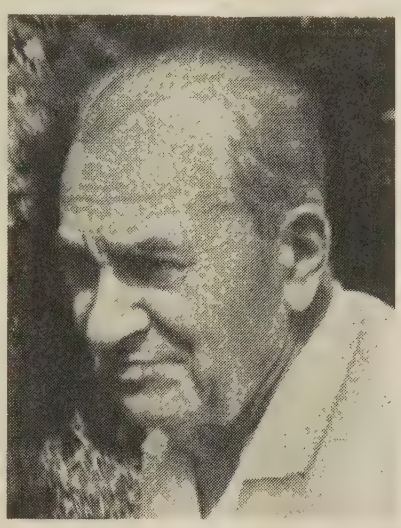
On August 5, a radio message reached London from General Bor in Warsaw. It was received with interest and even some gratification. Bor reported that he had made contact with the Soviet side through a Soviet officer, Captain Kalugin, who had come to his headquarters (the British documents referred to him as "a Soviet guerilla leader in Warsaw" and a "Soviet liaison officer"). Attached to the wire was a message from Kalugin addressed to Stalin asking for immediate help for the uprising.

The British authorities conveyed the message to Moscow and Mikolajczyk told the Soviet leader about it. Kalugin's name began to appear frequently in documents: he was mentioned by the Polish ambassador to the U.S during his talk at the State Department. In Moscow, the name provoked nothing but surprise and perplexity. Who was the mysterious captain whose name is mentioned in history books?

It is useful when a historian knows not only the document which mentions a certain person but the person himself. This happened when Professor Ryszard Nazarewicz, whom I have mentioned more than once in this study, took up the "Kalugin case." During the war Nazarewicz fought in the ranks of the AL and had met Konstantin Kalugin before the uprising. This helped him to unravel the mystery. Nazarewicz gave me Kalugin's address: 185, Krasnoznamyonnaya St., Donetsk, U.S.S.R.

Konstantin Kalugin lives in a small house in the outskirts of Donetsk. Now in retirement, he will be eighty this year and his health is not what it was. He is almost blind and can walk only with difficulty. But he still exudes the energy we usually associate with the "men of the 1930s." A member of the Young Communist League since 1924, he joined the Party in 1931. He graduated from a workers' faculty, was one of the builders of the Stalingrad Tractor Plant, took part in the collectivization campaign and is a military academy graduate. The greatest trials of his life befell him during the war. A commander of the 1131st infantry regiment, he was gravely wounded when the Soviet troops were surrounded near Kharkov in the spring of 1942, and was taken prisoner.

He was moved from one POW camp to another before arriving at Vlasov's school



Konstantin Kalugin – 44 years later.

for "propagandists" in Dabendorf near Berlin. Kalugin still thinks this was his only chance of getting out of the camp. After finishing the school and obtaining freedom to travel, he found himself in Poland, where he made contact with Polish partisans, an AL unit in Chestochowa.

The Polish comrades checked and double-checked his credentials but eventually accepted him. Kalugin could get about Poland freely and go to places to which the AL had no access. That was how "Stefan," alias Ryszard Nazarewicz, and "Ignac," alias Ignacy Loga-Sowinski, made his acquaintance. That was in 1943, and in the summer of 1944 a reconnaissance assignment brought Kalugin to Warsaw, where he was caught in the uprising.

"How did you make your way into the AK headquarters?"

"How did you make your way into the AK headquarters?"

"Not of my own free will. Clearly I was being watched, and I frequently changed my clothes – mufti, ROA uniform and a German uniform. When I was detained by an AK patrol, I told the truth: I said I was a Soviet officer. I was sent to General Monter, Commander of AK troops in Warsaw.

"Who suggested the idea of sending a message to Stalin?"

Kalugin paused before answering,

"Let me put it this way: it was fifty per cent my own idea and fifty per cent the idea of the people who arrested me. It was only later that I learned all the motives behind it..."

What about his own motives? Kalugin saw that Warsaw had risen to fight, saw the heroism of the rebels and was aware of their difficult position. Unaware of the background to the preparations for the uprising, he was sure that the AK was acting together with the AL. When he was told that Monter's headquarters had links with Moscow, he fell for the idea of asking for help.

It was only later that Kalugin learned the truth about the situation before the uprising and appreciated the mood in Monter's headquarters.

"If only I had known what they were up to," he said with distress, when I told him how his presence in Warsaw had been exploited.

"Now I understand something strange that happened to me at the time."

One day in Monter's headquarters Kalugin was handed an envelope. It contained a proposal that he assume command of all the Polish forces in Warsaw. At the time he thought it a silly joke, but now...

He had plenty of time afterwards to reflect on what happened in Warsaw. After getting out of Warsaw at the end of September, Kalugin reported on his work to Lieutenant-General Bulganin, who was in Lublin. He was sent to Moscow and soon found himself in prison. He was released in 1955, and rehabilitated in 1967.

He never knew what had happened to the message. Stalin, of course, did not know the name of Kalugin, and might well have though the whole thing a hoax. No action was taken on Mikolajszyk's despatch. Meanwhile, General Bor speculated on the "Kalugin affair." He wrote to London that they welcomed the Soviet Army captain and

> **"expected a demonstration of goodwill on the part of the Soviet command before trying to establish contact with them."**

Kalugin, too, was aware that he was being used as a pawn. The AL archives contain his letter dated August 17, which reads in part:

> **"I have never considered myself an official representative at the AK command in Warsaw as I have no authorization or instructions from the Soviet government or from the General Staff of the Red Army."**

But that did not help. The captain's name had been taken up by the propaganda machine.

We know that this was far from being the case. That is all the more reason to recall some developments near Warsaw.

(To be continued)

PROFILE SKETCHES

A few months ago **Paco Gascon**, 29, of Santander, Spain, decided to go to El Salvador and join an international peace brigade there. The International Peace Brigade Movement seeks to settle conflicts in various parts of the planet by non-violent action.

There are six such brigades in El Salvador at present. They accompany demonstrations, watch meetings whose participants are threatened by army units, and help refugees in their camps. "We never take sides and never mix with demonstrators," Gascon says. "Our mission is to witness, and try and prevent human rights violations."

Gascon has now been championing human rights for a decade. In El Salvador, he and his friends teach the local people to read and write.

"Living with Salvadorans, I have got accustomed to facing the muzzles of submachine guns. It is especially dangerous to return from the camps of the Salvadoran refugees who have fled to neighbouring Honduras. One has to thread one's way through minefields. Sometimes I can't leave the bus for two days at a stretch when we have to take the supplies for the refugees to places deep in the jungle. It is hard to see children dying of hunger and to help people back to active life," he says.

"The very thought of having to leave the army hurts, but I know that if I'm needed they'll send for me," were the words with which **Valérie André**, the only Frenchwoman to be a three-star general, concluded her 33-year military career.

The sixth daughter of a Strasbourg schoolteacher, Valérie had taken an interest as doctor in flying and medicinal studies early in life. On qualifying as a doctor, she was assigned to an army hospital, where she soon took a commission, with the rank of captain. In the meantime, she learned to fly. Although the missions she was sent on were not of the noblest kind, and the wars in which she saw action did not add to her country's glory, the French who fought in Indo-China and Algeria hold her in high esteem for her unexampled courage and flying skill. Hundreds of wounded men owe their return home to her helicopter, which bore the emblem of the Red Cross and from which Mlle André barred all weapons. In Vietnam she met Alexis Santinis, a pilot, whom she married thirteen years later.

Doesn't Valérie André think that figthing is hardly a suitable occupation for a woman?

"I like the army, where you are among active, like-minded and disinterested people with a keen sense of duty."

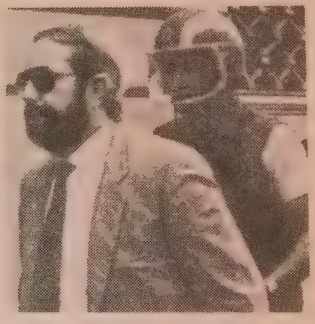
In 1962, at the age of forty Valérie André became chief surgeon at Villacoublay military base, and was later appointed medical adviser at the Air Force headquarters. In 1976, she was promoted to the rank of general. Valérie André holds many top government awards including the Order of the Legion of Honour.

A production of **Sergei Kaledin's** story "The Quiet Graveyard" had its first night recently at the Sovremennik

Investigator No. 1

"Basta! I'm retiring!" This was the gist of the letter to the Supreme Magistrate's Council from Giovanni Falcone (photo left), the best-known criminal investigator of Palermo's "anti-Mafia squad." Along with his eight colleagues, he demanded a transfer to another part of Italy on the grounds that he was no longer in a position to carry out his official duties.

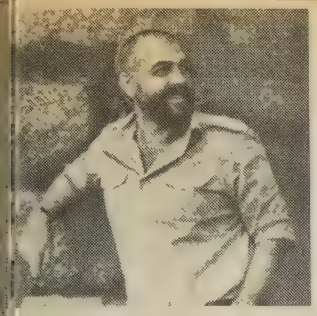
Falcone had dedicated himself to fighting organized crime, which earned him the dubious honour of being sentenced to death by the mob. He took protective measures. For years, he would leave his bunker office in Palermo's Palace of Justice only for a few hours' sleep at home. His armoured car was always escorted by a convoy of ten or so steel-helmeted, bulletproof-vested policemen. It was Falcone who "cracked" Tommaso Buscetta, the Mafia chief (photo right), whose confessions

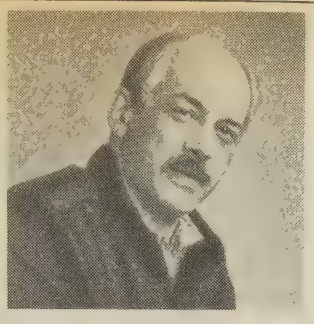


helped put over 450 Mafiosi in the dock.

The war did not end there. If bullets and poison fail, another traditional Italian weapon, intrigue, is resorted to. Already in the course of the Palermo "maxi-trial," many big bosses have managed to get off scot-free, leaving it to the smaller fry to take the legal raps. Then the group of investigators of which Falcone was a member was subordinated to an official nearing retiring age who knew as much about the Mafia as he did about the canals on Mars. Before long, the investigation was safely deadlocked. The methods that had worked were forgotten about. Reports were bogged down in a mire of red tape. Giovanni Falcone had the key cases taken away from him. The gangsters were given a chance to recover and consolidate their "families."

The judge's main mistake was that he had picked the wrong kind of enemy to grapple with. Many Italian rulers rely on the Mafia for preelection support, vote and backstage politicking. This matters much more to them than the success of "one Falcone."





heatre. The story, the author's erary debut, had been pub-shed in the magazine Novy lir.

Sergei Kaledin graduated om the Maxim Gorky Literary stitute in 1979. The story in uestion was, in fact, his aduation paper. A selection his later stories and features as brought out by the ovetsky Pisatel publishers st year under the title "The orridor."

"The Quiet Graveyard" is a ece of biting social satire. e lust for money de-umanizes its charac-ters, making them ruthless and egoistical. The grief of the bereaved means nothing to them – except as a source of profit.

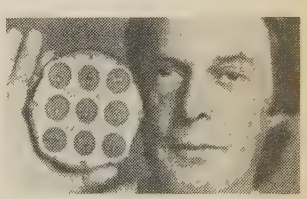
Sergei Kaledin knows what he writes about at first hand – he has worked as night watchman, designer, carpenter. For about two years he dug graves at Moscow's Pyatnitsky cemetery for a living.

"The Quiet Graveyard" was staged at the Sovremennik theatre by director Mikhail Ali-Hussein. A graduate of the acting faculty at Shchepkin Drama School, Ali-Hussein worked for many years in various provincial theatres. In 1972 he decided to change his profession, and entered the director's faculty at the State Institute of Theatrical Art. On graduating from the institute, Ali-Hussein became stage manager of the Sovremennik company. His first production was the play "Alone with All" by A. Gelman. That was followed by S. Zlotnikov's "The Team," Lion Feuchtwanger's "The Widow Capet" and A. Kazantsev's "Great Buddha, Help Them!" (see New Times No. 11, 1988). And now, "The Quiet Graveyard."

"Staging this story was hard but interesting work," the director says. "Hard, because it's a piece of prose, not a play. And interesting because it's a very thrilling story."

At the Tour de France bicycle race, **Pedro Delgado**, 28, of Spain, took the lead after the 14th lap and dashed to victory. True, his joy was marred by a scandal that had erupted a few days before the finish. Delgado was suspected of using stimulants. Blood tests showed the presence of the preparation probenecide. But since the ban on this drug would only come into effect in August, Delgado was allowed to carry on the race unpenalized (the standard penalty for using dope is the addition of ten minutes to the time clocked).

While passions were running high, Pedro Delgado reaped his rewards: a cheque for 80,000 dollars, the winner's cup with diamonds to the same value, an apartment in a resort town worth 30,000 dollars and a 18,000-dollar car.



The Hungarian inventor of popular puzzles **Ernö Rubik**, has added a new game to the toys (which include the Rubik Cube) that he has already patented – the Rubik Clock. This is a two-sided contraption with nine clockfaces on each side. The hands on some of the dials can be moved manually. All the hands are to be set at 12.00.

Rubik says he hasn't worked out this puzzle himself yet for lack of time, but claims it is mathematically possible to do so.

Californian Albatross"

his is the nickname of tthew Nicholas Biondi, 1.99 m tall American immer. However, it is cer-nly not to his height but to s superior skill and consis-ncy of performance that tthew owes his pride of ace in the world swimming te. At the pre-Olympic lection trials in Austin, xas, he won the right to mpete in four individual d three medley races. He proved the national re-rd in the 200-m freestyle, d showed the best per-nal time – and the third st time ever – in the 100-m tterfly event. He chalked a phenomenal 48.42 sec-ds in his favourite 100-m eestyle event, surpassing far his own world record r the fourth time since 85.

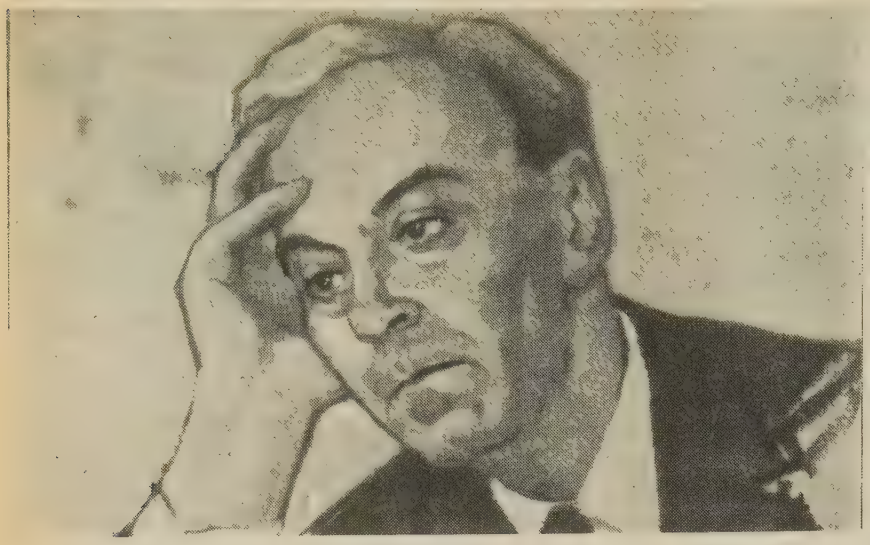
Biondi showed he had the aking of an outstanding vimmer at the age of five, hen he was entered for his st competition. A swim-ing instructor told the

boy's father (an ex-swimming coach himself) that Matthew had "a rare sense of water which he feels as a musician does his instrument, or a painter his brush."

Having entered the faculty of political economy at Berkeley University, California, Matthew Biondi took up basketball and water polo. However, an experienced coach managed to persuade him that he was a born swimmer. He was proved right: in 1984 as a member of the U.S. national team his 18-year-old protégé won a gold medal in the 4x100 m medley race (freestyle) in his Los Angeles Olympic debut. At World Championship '86 in Madrid, the "Californian Albatross" won three gold, one silver, and three bronze medals...

Experts expect that in Seoul Biondi will create the biggest sensation since the phenomenal achievement of the American swimmer Mark Spitz, who had seven wins at the Munich Olympics in 1972. Matthew makes no secret of his ambitious hopes: "I am now in excellent shape. I'm sure that my long-cherished dream of doing as well as Mark and winning seven gold medals will come true in Seoul."

A.Kun



When old friends cut you dead...

Extracts deleted from an interview with Yuri Gherman

Books by the writer Yuri Gherman have had a new lease of life, and not just thanks to the films "Checkup on the Roads" and "My Friend Ivan Lapshin," which Alexei Gherman based on his father's work... It is only now that we are learning many of the things Yuri Gherman wanted us to know.

In December 1965 I approached Yuri Gherman for an interview to be carried in the magazine Voprosy Literatury (Literary Studies). Shortly before that the magazine Znamya had published my review of his book "Operation 'Happy New Year.'" I prepared no specific questions. It is more interesting to "catch fire" from the person you are talking to than to confine the conversation to a rigid scheme.

We talked for three days with that tall, lanky, incredibly impetuous man with the hoarse bass voice. His enormous eyes – sunken and bulging at the same time – glittered in the dark rim of fine wrinkles. I didn't know then that he was fatally ill and already suspected it himself. He was in a hurry to realize all his plans, previously impossible. I didn't understand the meaning of a phrase he uttered in the middle of the conversation: "My time has come now, I can write to my heart's content; it's the green light all the way. I only hope I can last another five years..."

The conversation was confused due to my eagerness to communicate with him. He gave extensive answers to my questions, although sometimes he cut his monologues short at the most interesting point. And then he was silent, puffing at his cigarette and looking through me...

On the first day we talked about his life, his acquaintance and friendship with Gorky and Meyerhold.

On the second day the conversation was more bitter.

"Why did you unexpectedly retreat into history and write the novel 'Young Russia'?" I asked. "Was it because you had found yourself in a dead end? Because you had come to be dubbed a 'henchman of cosmopolitanism'? Or was it for money? Or to get a pardon after 'Lt. Colonel of the Medical Service'?"

All the while he coughed, as if his throat were dry; and I thought he was chuckling at my naive questions.

"There have been quite a few curious things in my life. I have always been able to hit the bull's eye. During the war, on orders from the naval command, I wrote a book about the friendship between Soviet and British seamen. It was published both here and in Britain. That 'success' backfired a hundred times during the anti-cosmopolitan campaign. Add to that the "Lt. Colonel of the Medical Service," with a Jew as the head doctor. It was just in time for the start of the frame-up of the 'white-coated killers'."

Gherman grinned.

"Then I experienced on my own skin what the cowardice of brave people is like, the people I had fought, drunk and talked candidly with. I wasn't arrested, but it was coming, and for a time I found myself a non-person. Forgotten or dead. And can you imagine me walking as a non-person along Nevsky Prospect and the people I met – my acquaintances and even recent friends – recoiling from me as if I were a leper. Or they just didn't see me, like an invisible man..."

His manner of speech was strikingly artistic, his gestures and expression adding to the force of his bitterly ironical monologue.

"I cannot say I was ever everybody's darling. People envied me, and my impudent tongue got up their noses, and I latched onto nincompoops who wrote about things they didn't know the first thing about... I suppose I too suffered from emotional deafness if I thought a person indecent or ideologically alien. I believed many things like an idiot, but I never listed as enemies any of those I had known before the war..."

And he coughed again.

"A strange generation we are. Faith and lack of faith, cowardice and courage, meanness and selflessness – all in one. But I never betrayed anyone, and I never believed I could be betrayed, me personally, the 'darling' of the public."

"Do you like the Bible?" he asked suddenly.

I blinked, dumbfounded, and he realized I was "uninitiated."

Then he said pensively:

"I think it is in the Bible: 'There is nothing from without a man, that entering into him can defile him: but the things that cometh out of him, those are they that defile a man.' Those are my favourite words. Did you get that? Hence 'Young Russia.' No, it was no whim, nor was it timeserving or to make money. During the war Rear Admiral Nikolayev told me: 'The seamen

think we are the first to fight here in the north. Do a historical article for the paper so that they know how the Russian army defended this land.'

"I flew to a library in Archangel. On the plane I found myself next to the legendary Captain Kontsov. He read nobody after Leo Tolstoy and called all contemporary writers, including myself, 'dog's sorrow,' and told them so to their faces. He heard about my assignment and said: 'Write about the famous Russian pilot Vanka Ryabov, who grounded a Swedish ship and saved the Novoarkhangelsk citadel. My grandmother sang me songs about him...'

"I did the newspaper article, and a play for Valentin Pluchek, and then, when everybody who cared to had begun harassing me for 'Lt. Colonel of the Medical Service,' and started to betray me, and label and pick up the crumbs of my vices past and present, I suddenly realized that there, in the 18th century, I would find an answer to what was happening around me today..."

"What was most interesting for you in the reign of Peter the Great?"

"The problem of justice. I wanted to understand people like myself. I wanted to understand the offense of a person caught in the cogs of government machinery, a person initially loyal and honest, a person who wasn't crushed and didn't become a moaner, defiling all and sundry, a person who remained a patriot – without pretence, servility or submission. Ievlev in prison is me. Ryabov in the dungeon is me, too. Their belief in the inevitability of justice is also mine. But I am not one to project contemporaneity onto history, or treat the ulcers of the present with the cobwebs of the past, or speculate about desecrated authorities and enlist them as allies, using them as a fan to brush aside the rest. One has to strain off many things to get rid of one's own bitterness in order to recreate the truth..."

I was jotting it all down in a hurry, scribbling unfinished words and letters, for fear of missing something. I was so engrossed that I even stuck out the tip of my tongue.

"Pull back you tongue or stick it out properly... I hate stealth..."

He coughed again, chuckling, and I turned the colour of an overripe tomato, although I realized that the last words were not aimed at me and had only ricocheted...

"Have you ever thought of what historical characters are like really? The Pomors spoke as equals even to government ministers. Proud, unbending, and gallant with women. Their favourite saying was: 'I don't bow neither to the God, nor to power that be.' I saw people like them during the war, which enabled me to portray those historical characters. As for Peter and his nestlings...

"A long time ago Pushkin ironically said: 'Some people do not concern themselves with either the glory or the calamities of their country, and only know its history since Prince Potyomkin... Still, they consider themselves patriots because they like botvinnia and their children run about in red shirts.'"

Gherman closed the book and exclaimed:

"And what are we doing? Breeding Ivans oblivious of their ancestry? Ignorant of it? We are inventing a history for them, that's all roses."

Then he added slowly and wearily:

"In history one cannot conform to the tastes of literary functionaries, or lady critics who adore gossip and departmental chiefs, even literary maestros..."

He was particularly contemptuous of the last word.

"The main thing is to portray the triviality of human nature. Our ancestors were no better and no worse than ourselves. Heroes in the war years, and mean, cowardly and treacherous in peacetime. I am talking about people of the Peter's time, I don't want to be misunderstood. Otherwise – a reader wrote to me once, the wife of some jumped-up apparatchik who had leapt onto the cultural bandwagon and been presumptuously cooing; she signed the letter 'wife of...' And all the titles and honorifics followed. So she wrote me an angry letter – why on earth had I written that Ievlev's wife didn't want her daughter to marry Ryabov's son? The reader was outraged that I had condemned Mrs Ievlev. 'She is right, a man must know his place, who is she and who is he?'"

His sunken eyes were looking through me.

"Let us not be hypocrites, human nature has always been the same. It was for good reason that Moses drove the Jews into the desert after liberating them from the Egyptians – so that everybody born in slavery would die. And I assure you that my Veresova with her wild ambitions would fit snugly into Saint Petersburg with its red tape and protocol. All of Peter's followers were greedy grabbers, hastily snatching their piece of the pie. There were practically no honest people among them. Do not steal! They stole. Do not take bribes. They did. Do not betray thy neighbour! They betrayed, but..." he raised his finger, "they also risked their lives for the sake of the state, and they worked with ardour and lived with mischief, and didn't idle their lives away..."

Gherman waved his hand to brush away the cigarette smoke. It seemed to me that even the wallpaper in his study was darker because of the smoke, bright Finnish-made wallpaper with little ships that were sailing away and still stayed put...

"I hate those who stake a claim for all the very best that others may have. Predators – whether small fry or bigger ones. I like getting away from them – into history, as into the jungle. Though there are beasts there, too. My 'Young Russia' was also about that. About scoundrels. There are few doves there, the country was young, so it spawned plenty of the scum, just as God did in the first days of creation..."

The pause grew long, but then he said:

"A writer may falter and lose his bearings and look for a way out of mundane and creative troubles. But a real writer will not have petty ambition, he won't want to make a career as a functionary in the Union of Soviet Writers and assume command of people like himself, even pointing out, as an acquaintance of mine does, that he helps his helpless friends. He is a liar, he simply wanted to get a seat at presidiums, make speeches and show off. It is probably because, deep inside, their kind are aware of their creative mortality. They are never remembered after their deaths... No, a true talent will never stoop to twaddle or greed, and will not peddle his book out of turn at the expense of the silent. One has to be a fighter – but not for oneself or one's family..."

Then he autographed and gave me the first and third volumes of my favourite trilogy about Ustimenko (the second part was not at hand) and smiled when I said I kept rereading those books as an epic about two musketeers.

"There was a third, too – Shtub, but they didn't let me expand him, he stuck out like a sore thumb for some of those present, driven mad by the rehabilitation..."

And he suddenly asked or, rather, told himself:

"I wonder what your bosses will excise from our conversation?!"

Only back in Moscow, leafing through the pad, I realized what sort of maze I had got myself into. I retyped the script and showed it to one of the editors.

He read it in my presence and shook his head:

"Take it away and don't kick up a row. Of course, we are all liberals, but..."

The abridged interview was sent to Gherman to be OK'd. He replied: "Dear Larisa! I have never analyzed my work so utterly scientifically, but our views coincided in many ways. It was ludicrous to believe that my outrageous revelations would appeal to our devotees of piety... All work deserves to be remunerated, you did your work and I found it interesting to talk – get it printed, there are no lies there..."

All his life Gherman tried to be honest; he tortured himself, submitting to circumstances, tried to remedy reality by interfering personally and hated treachery, careerism and demagogy. I decided to reinstate the interview "in memoriam," the interview he gave me 23 years ago. I decided to restore the pieces that were deleted at the will of the editors and, what is worse, on orders from the inner censor...

Larisa Isarova

A man who amasses wealth for others

Some people preserve for posterity works of art believed to be of little value by most of their contemporaries. One such person is Garig Basmadjian.

"Gift of Garig Basmadjian" says the label under the famous painting "The Gegam Mountain Scape" in the Martiros Saryan museum, Yerevan. This masterpiece had been believed to have been lost in a 1928 fire, along with other canvasses that Saryan painted abroad. Suddenly spotted by Soviet experts in the U.S., it could have disappeared again after being put up for auction. Garig Basmadjian, a Paris collector, outbid them all, bought the picture, took it to Armenia and presented it to the museum.

Garig Basmadjian, 40, was born in Jerusalem. He is a Jerusalem Armenian on his mother's side, and his father left Armenia in the tragic year of 1915. Garig studied at the faculty of philology at Yerevan University. A poet, he started writing in English, and later switched to Armenian. He speaks Russian, Armenian, French, English, Hebrew and Arabic equally well. Since 1972 he has lived in Paris.

In 1975 Garig Basmadjian started a collection of Russian and Armenian works of art. The collection has been to Moscow and is now in Leningrad.

The collector is interested in everything – Borovikovsky paintings, wooden spoons, and modern graphic art.

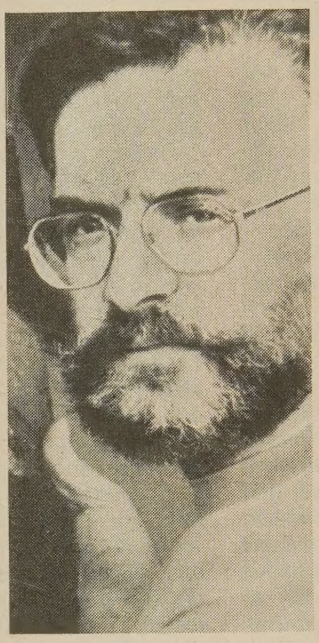
His Paris Galerie Basmadjian displays paintings by living artists only (a visitor can buy any picture he takes a fancy to) so the Moscow exhibition has probably given the collector his first opportunity to see work by classic artists and his contemporaries together. In a body, they produce a greater impression than work by Aivazovsky, Kramskoi, Sverchkov, Levitan, Malyavin, Petrov-Vodkin, Saryan and Deineka viewed separately. Paintings by Laktionov and Shilov take on an entirely new quality next to canvasses by Bugrin or Putilin.

The exhibition had a discovery in store for every visitor. I was greatly impressed by Filipp Malyavin's works – three large paintings, including a strikingly revealing portrait of the poet Nikolai Gumilyov, and the drawings "Lenin and Lunacharsky," "Nadezhda Plevitskaya" and "Trotsky."

The exposition features traditional Russian folk costumes – part of the famous collection built up by Shabelskaya.

Unfortunately, owing to poor organization, this unique collection reached the Moscow exhibition only when it was already in its last week, while several of the treasures Basmadjian had brought – including miniatures by Kramskoi and Terebenyov, Russian silverware of the 18th century and Fabergé jewellery – remained in their crates.

I put a few questions to the collector.



"What do you think of our graphic art today?"

"Soviet painting is making dynamic progress in a tremendous variety of styles and directions. This is evidenced by the keen interest in it on the part of Western buyers – an objective indication to be taken seriously. When I started buying paintings by Russian artists through the Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga salon 12 years ago, there were only a few collectors of Soviet pictures in the West. Today hundreds of private individuals and whole firms collect them."

"Which of our modern artists do you like best?"

"If I name some of them and forget to mention others, it will be unfair... Do you mean only those living in the Soviet Union?"

"No."

"Well, of all Soviet artists I'd single out three – Vladimir Veisberg, Mikhail Shvartsman and Akop Akopyan; as far as emigré artists are concerned, I have a special liking for Boris Zaborov, Nikolai Pavlovsky and Anatoly Putilin. Some very interesting artists are now found in Armenia.

"Perestroika and glasnost are making for a healthier situation. Previously you had artists referred to as 'leftist,' 'non-conformist.' Sometimes even the least talented of them managed to cause a lot of fuss: if they were frowned upon in the U.S.S.R., they claimed automatic recognition in the West. Now that they enjoy freedom of self-expression, they all have equal chances, and artistic talent is the chief criterion of any picture's worth."

I saw the canvasses in Basmadjian's collection last, after the exhibition had already closed. Some still hung on the walls, others stood stacked against each other on the floor. The halls were deserted. Basmadjian – concentrated, good-humoured and sarcastic at the same time – was alone with his treasures. But he didn't look in the least like a hoarder; he seemed to have dissolved in the works of art around him. Men like Garig Basmadjian have an important role to play on the modern art scene – by collecting works of graphic art, introducing the public to them and encouraging young talent, they bring artists closer together and make real art accessible to everyone.

Andrei Svetozarov

■

THE ELEKTRONIKA

desktop digital clock:

highly accurate,
noiseless,
easy to read.

BUY ELEKTRONIKA!

The Elektronika
advertising agency
The Golden Ring
advertising agency

Fly Aeroflot to any continent!

Aeroflot offers you short-cuts to any place on earth. Soviet airliners provide regular service with Europe, Asia, Africa and America along major routes.

For details please see an Aeroflot agent in your country

FLY AEROFLOT!